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EDITORIAL

It is with great pleasure that we present the third number of our journal to the scholarly world. No doubt the publication was delayed inordinately and for this we crave the indulgence of our learned contributors who had sent their learned papers almost four years ago. That, at least, we were able to publish it was due to the gracious gesture on part of M/S Vidyapuri, the only renowned Publisher on Indology from Cuttack, who readily came forward to publish the journal on behalf of the Society. For this Mr. Pitamber Misra, the owner of M/S Vidyapuri has won our gratitude.

We would like to express our deepest sorrow for the sad demise of some of the first-ranking Oriya historians of the modern times who passed away during the last four years. This is a great loss to the State in general and historical research in the State in particular. These great personalities were Prof. P. Mukherjee, Pandita Surya Narayan Dash, Late Sudhakara Pattanayak, Late Chakradhar Mohapatra, Prof. S. C. Behera, Prof. N. K. Sahu, Dr. H. K. Mahtab and Prof. K. C. Panigrahi. All the above had enriched the study of history of Orissa by their valuable research works.

In this issue the select bibliography on Orissan studies includes some of the publications which appeared after 1978 and before 1985, upto the time of compilation of the bibliography for this issue. We hope this will help the scholars like the Bibliography on Orissa brought out by H. Kulke and others in 1978.

Last but not the least we thank the members of the Advisory Editorial Board for their kind consent and valuable suggestions in maintaining the standard of our journal.

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RATNAGIRI TO PRAṆĀLAKA : A STUDY IN RELIGIO-CULTURAL CONTACT BETWEEN KALIṄGA AND APARĀNTA (KONKAN)

M. N. Deshpande

Kaliṅga, on the eastern and Aparānta on the western coast appear to be two distant areas in the Indian sub-continent. In antiquity, when communication was not as easy as it is today, communities living in such widely separated areas established contact with each other through various channels. Trade and commerce was one of the foremost means of contact and intrepid caravan leaders went to distant places by land or sea. Catastrophic wars, famines or employment opportunities drove sections of population from one region to another in search of security or means of livelihood. Among many other such ways of establishing contact with other regions there is yet another. In this case the contact is established by religious teachers and itinerant monks who travel from one region to the other to propagate new religious ideas, and also visit other religious centres where they could meet luminaries of the times and exchange views. In ancient India, religious centres were also centres of learning and therefore, these places attracted scholars from all over the country and also from overseas. In this category, we have the accounts of Chinese travellers like Fa Hien (early fifth century A.D.) and Heuan Tsang (seventh century A.D.) who came all the way from China to India by undertaking hazardous journey through deserts, mountains and jungles and after visiting different places in India returned to their native land with mementoes in the form of manuscripts, icons or relics. In this paper it is proposed to examine contacts between Kaliṅga and Aparānta on the basis of striking similarities which have been observed in icons found at two Buddhist monastic centres, namely. Ratnagiri (Orissa) and Praṇālaka (Aparānta) situated in coastal district of Maharashtra.

In recent years, a new Buddhist monastic cave centre has come to light, at a place called Panhale Kaji, ancient Praṇālaka mentioned in Śilāhāra inscriptions[1]. It is situated in Dapoli *tāluka* of Ratnagiri district, now renamed as Sindhudurga. This cave group is similar to other groups in the Konkan area like Kanheri, Kondivte (both near Bombay), Pale, Kol and Kuda (near Mahad) in Rayagad district (erstwhile Kolaba district). Praṇālaka is situated in the mountain fastnesses of the Sahyadri, near the port-town of Dabhol, on the bank of a mountain stream called Wāgjai and near its confluence with another stream called Dhākti. At this place there are in all 29 caves ranging in date from the third century A. D. to the fourteenth century A.D. Initially, the monastic centre was established by followers of Hīnayāna like other cave centres in this area such as Khed and Chiplun (both in Sindhudurg district). While these Hīnayāna monastic centres were abandoned with the gradual decline of the faith in about the 4th and 5th

century A. D. Praṇālaka continued to prosper, in its splendid isolation, as a centre of Tantric Vajrayāna Buddhism during the ninth and tenth century A.D. Later the place became a stronghold of Śaiva, Gāṇapatya and Nātha Sampradāya. The adherents of the last mentioned faith came on the scene as religious reformers to purify the path of *sādhanā*, vitiated by the esoteric tantric rites of the Vajrayāna priests who allowed the use of *panca* makāras as a part of religious ritual. There were some other strongholds of Tantric Vajrayāna faith in Maharashtra such as Ellora, Kanheri, and Kondivte but Panhale developed as a very distinctive centre with Akṣobhya as the chief god whose worship was prevalent at this centre, in many cave shrines, exclusively housing Akṣobhya image as a cult object. One image of Sidhaikavira, a deity of the Akṣobhya family (*Kula*), has also been found here in cave 10. What is, however, very significant, for our purpose, is the image of Mahacaṇḍaroṣaṇa also called Caṇḍaroṣaṇa, Acala or Ekallavīra at Praṇālaka (vide fig. 1). This god belongs to the family of Akṣobhya and is considered very ferocious. The *tantra* of this deity forbids its worship in the open and the icon is required to be kept away from public gaze, only the initiated having access to it as per directions of the teacher. Stone images of this deity are extremely rare. So far only two images of this deity have come to light, one at Ratnagiri in Orissa and the other at Praṇālaka. The Ratnagiri image was found by Dr. (Mrs.) Mitra during the course of her very interesting excavations of the Ratnagiri monastery[2]. It is carved on the drum of a *stūpa* (vide fig. 2). Painted thangkas[3] depicting Mahacaṇḍaroṣaṇa of *circa* sixteenth and seventeenth century A. D. are found in Nepal and Tibet but they usually depict the male god in erotic union (*Yāb-yum*) with his *śakti*. The stone image found at Praṇālaka depicts the deity singly and was a cult object placed in a niche in a cave. Both the images correspond to the iconographic traits mentioned in *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa tantra*. His description appearing in *Sādhanamālā* is as follows :

> *Avaninihita jānuh savyahastaikakhaḍgaḥ*
> *taditarakaramuṣṭau tarjanīsakta-pāśaḥ*
> *nividaghanaśarirah caṇḍarukcaṇḍacakṣuḥ*
> *śamayatu bhavavighnam vighnahantācaloyam*

'Let Acala, who is the destroyer of all obstacles, of who has placed his knee on the ground and holds sword in his right hand, a noose attached to the forefinger of his other (left) hand and whose body is compact and well set, and possessing fierce countenance and eyes dispell all obstacles.'

Both the idols are identical and stylistically belong to *circa* tenth century A. D., the Panhale one being in the characteristic of later Cālukyan style. The find of this single icon helps in establishing religio-cultural contact between teachers from the tantric Vajrayāna monastic establishments of Orissa and Aparānta. It is not unlikely that the great tantric teacher, Mahāsiddha Saraha who preached the tantric Vajrayāna doctrine may have hailed from Kaliṅga and travelling southwards visited Vajrayāna centres in Maharashtra. Among Tantric icons found at Amaravati there is one of Akṣobhya and it appears that the cult of Akṣobhya became popular in Andhra Pradesh, Karnatak and Maharashtra during the ninth and the tenth century A. D.

Inscriptional evidence of contact with eastern India during this period is available at Kanheri[6]. It will thus be seen that teachers from Gauḍa and Kaliṅga region visited religious establishments in western India and influenced the religio-cultural pattern of life. This cultural intercourse was of the nature of two way traffic enriching the life pattern of both the regions.

NOTES :

1. V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Silaharas of Konkan, Cropus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol.* VI. "The Panhale plates of Vikramaditya". No. 23 and Chiplun stone inscription of Mallikarjuna mention Praṇālaka as the headquarters of Praṇālaka *Viṣaya*.

2. Debala Mitra, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 80—Ratnagiri* (1958-61), Vol. I, pp. 125-126 and plate LXXIII A, New Delhi, 1981.

3. Pratapaditya Pal, *Nepal where the gods are young*, catalogue of exhibition held by the Asia Society, plates 33 and 34.

4. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, ed, *Sādhana Mālā*, Part I (Gaekwad Oriental Series). No. 26.

5. K. Krishnamurthy. "Some Tantric icons from Amaravati Museum," *Journal of the Andhra Pradesh Archives*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 11-22, Hyderabad. In this article in pl. 1, III (a), IV (Central image) there are representations of Akṣobhya and not of Buddha. Both the images show *Vajra* placed horizontally near the feet above the *Vishva padma* (lotus) seat.

6. V. V. Mirashi, *Ibid*, p. 3-6. Kanheri cave inscriptions of Kapardin II mention a teacher from Gauḍa, a devout worshipper, as making donations to the Vihāra at Kanheri.

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MARRIAGE PAINTINGS IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL ORISSA

Joanna Williams

We have all seen pictures painted around the door of the bride's house at the time of a wedding to greet the groom's party. These may seem only too familiar, but in fact they repay systematic study. First, they illuminate the development of the citrakāra tradition and the way painter and patron interact. Second, these pictures document some of the attitudes surrounding the institution of marriage. And finally, some are quite lovely and show the best of the rough, vigorous side of the citrakāra's aesthetic.

To begin with the historical issue, initial observations might suggest that the wedding paintings of Orissa fall into two distinct types, indicating a distinction between the southern (Ganjam and Koraput) and the central (Puri and Cuttack) groups of citrakāras. Today there are indeed differences in style as well as iconography between these two areas.

On the one hand, figures 3 and 4 illustrate typical examples from Puri proper. The door is flanked by two jars (*pūrṇa kumbha*), connoting abundance and corresponding to an actual jar present in the wedding ceremony. Generally fish accompany the jar, a pair of fertility symbols that goes back at least to the first century B.C. in the Jaina carvings of Mathura. The coconut that is almost always depicted on top of the vase is, however, more peculiar to Orissa. Often banana trees are painted on either side of the door (fig. 3), like the actual plants which may be placed by gateway in villages. Female attendants sometimes blowing conch and trumpet commonly appear on either jamb (fig. 4). The center of the lintel is usually occupied by Lakṣmī or Jagannātha. Occasionally a separate panel of Navaguñjara and Arjuna flanks the door, as in figure 4. In addition to all these broadly auspicious images, the word *svāgatam* may explicitly welcome the groom's party.

On the other hand, (fig. 5) illustrates the southern Orissan type of wedding picture.[1] The door, not visible in the photograph, has been left entirely plain, and decoration takes the form of a narrow frieze. In the center are vase, fish, and banana trees, elements seen already in Puri although deployed differently there. To the sides are new scenes. On the left a wedding takes place on a platform flanked by a male conch-blower and an ascetic. A brāhmaṇa pours ghee on the fire, and the bride sits on her father's lap. The fact that the groom is green and holds a bow identifies him as Rāma. Yet the local artists, when asked about this feature standard in the south, invariably answered first that it was simply "the groom". Only under continued questioning did they explain that people "want him to be green" and finally that he resembles Rāma. Some ambiguity about whether this is a contemporary or a mythical scene is indicated by the fact that the couple shown in a palanquin or *suāri* on the right are both golden-skinned.

Figure 6 illustrates the same general pattern, with the addition in the center of the two crowns of the bridal couple. These crowns appear commonly in the south, for example in three paintings from Parlakhemundi (fig. 7). As Puri forms a "type site" for the north, so does Parlakhemundi, with its active citrakāra community, for the south.

The examples from Parlakhemundi illustrated here, however, are painted on paper rather than on the wall, a procedure discussed below.

The differences in subject-matter between the two areas are obvious. Likewise the very format of the paintings on the wall is distinct : the decor begins with the door frame in central Orissa and with separate horizontal friezes in the south. The figure type also seems to differ between the consistently stylized, round faces of Puri and the more angular southern ones. On the whole the northern painters use broad areas of colour and firm lines to create a certain amount of volume, allbeit without three-dimensional space surrounding the figures. Thus the occasional use of shading does not seem out of place. The southern paintings with their sketchy lines have a more calligraphic effect. These stylistic matters, more convincingly than minor differences of costume, might suggest two distinct traditions. It is tempting to correlate these with the iconography of Ganjam, perhaps ultimately with a Rāma cult in the south and with stylistic influence from Andhra.

Yet if we look further, this simplistic view changes. For one thing, at some places in the south the single frieze format is elaborated, and many pictures may surround a door. An example from the Oriya community in Tekkali (Andhra) is the result of successive weddings of several daughters in one family (fig. 8).[3] The effect is to fill the wall, showing that the islolated panels of figures 5 and 6 are not the rule.

More important, in the north it seems that Puri town preserves in fact largely simplified and standardized versions of the local painting tradition. Particularly around the painter communities of Chandanpur, one finds more elaborate wedding pictures. Thus in Danda Sahi, virtually all the elements of both northern and southern types co-exist. The painting in figure 9 was made about 25 years ago by Panu Maharana assisted by his son Narasingha. Panu was one of the leading citrakāras of the area at the time that *paṭa citra* production was revived in the 1950's. This decorative ensemble includes male guardians (soldiers), Jagannātha, Lakṣmī above the door (out of photo to the right) and Navaguñjara. Pūrṇa-kumbhas and fish flanked the door originally, although that area is now damaged. These and female conch-blowers occur in other examples at Danda Sahi. Here we have a number of elements common in the Puri tradition. On the other hand, this same example includes a frieze above the door with Rāma's coronation, which in format and subject is more suggestive of the south. The painting in figure 10 was executed after the previous one by Panu's son, Narasingha, and is part of an ensemble that includes the traditional doorway decoration, not visible in this photo. Here we again see Rāma's coronation at the top, along with Kāñci-Kāveri, and below several rows of figures from a wedding procession reminiscent of the "southern" friezes. In short, it appears that Danda Sahi preserves the original tradition from which both Puri and southern paintings evolved.

Although Puri is only ten kilometres from the villages around Chandanpur, painting there has followed a somewhat separate course in recent years. Puri is of course the home of Lord Jagannātha, and conservative forces there encourage an emphasis upon Jagannātha images. Today two members of the citrakāra community are hakims, assuming by hereditary right the *sevaka* function of creating replacement paintings (aṇasara-paṭis) for the main shrine when the principal sculptures are retired between *Snāna Jātrā* and *Ratha Jātrā*[4]. At the same time, many citrakāras in Puri are predominantly engaged in making papier mache animals, shop signs, modern portraits, and various kinds of work other than traditional painting.

The twin villages of Danda Sahi and Raghurajpur near Chandanpur have long been interrelated by marriages and have followed a similar development in recent years. Nonetheless even here there are certain differences. Raghurajpur had more citrakāras, to begin with, and has more artists recognized by the National Master Craftsman award. Here the painting of wedding pictures is largely performed by Kunja Bihari Maharana, who himself describes his work as *moṭā* (thick) as opposed to *saru* (delicate), the latter being more appropriate to the smaller paṭa-citras. He is quite prolific and has fallen into a pattern of large-headed musicians and simple foliage sketched with a bold hand (fig. 11).

Danda Sahi, although closer to the main road, seems to have slightly less outside contact.

The village co-operative society is a force that levels competition and differences among various painters. It was possible for Panu Maharana, a recognized leader in the 1950's, to execute many wedding pictures such as that in figure 9. Likewise the *śāsana* villages of Virapratapapura, Viranarasinghpur, and Viraramachandrapur (Paṭṭeli) preserve rich wall paintings done by artists from Danda Sahi. Today the village of Bhagawanpur adjoining Chandanpur continues to patronize these painters and exhibits an unusually large number of wedding pictures and these of quite varied subjects (including frequently Rāma's coronation). Neither pressure to execute many paintings in a hurry nor contact with the outside world has led the Danda Sahi wedding paintings to the simple and standardized forms that we have seen elsewhere. Thus this is precisely where one might expect to find a pocket of tradition that lies behind the apparently different forms of both Puri and the south.

The process of this evolution can be examined first in terms of the painters themselves. Here is what a sample of citrakāras in the south say about their family origins :

Tekkali : *Visvanath Mahapatra* (an Oriya speaker in Andhra) says that his father, Radhakrisna came c. 60 years ago from Berhampur, has relatives in Mandasa, Parlakhemundi, Jeypore, and distantly Puri; mentions that the last queen of Tekkali came from Ranpur and encouraged traditions of that area.
(Only 1 citrakāra family in town)

Mandasa : *Aparao Mahapatra* (an Oriya speaker despite his first name) says that his family has been here a long time; has relatives in Parlakhemundi. Khallikot, Dharakot, and Berhampur. (A second Oriya citrakāra, Krishna Chandra Mahapatra, a relative of Visvanath Mahapatra of Tekkali, was not available because of a death in the family. Seetarama Raju, a Telegu-speaking artist, does papier mache heads but no paṭa-citras or wedding pictures.)

Parlakhemundi : *Syam Sundar Mahapatra* says that his family came here over 100 years ago but does not know exact source; has relatives in Odagaon, Dasapalla, Itamati, Mathura, Belaguntha, and Raghurajpur.

Prakash Chandra Mahapatra says that his family came from Puri 7 generations ago; has relations in Jeypore, Berhampur.
(8-9 citrakāra families in town)

Jeypore : *Gopinath Mahapatra* says that he himself came from Parlakhemundi c. 60 years ago.
Simadri Mahapatra says that he also came from Parlakhemundi 60 years ago, brought by Mahārājā.

Chikiti : *Apanna Mahapatra* says that his family came from Ranpur c. 200 years ago, brought by Mahārājā of Chikiti for the Jagannātha Temple there: has relatives in the Ranpur area, Puri and Raghurajpur.

(Originally 2 citrakāra families, both from Ranpur, now split into 5 households)

Clearly from these various accounts there has been a general movement *towards* the west and the south (and in no case *from* further south in Andhra) In those cases where Ganjam (Berhampur) or western Puri district (Ranpur) is mentioned as a source, it is possible that the ultimate source behind that is one of the villages of the Puri area. Such a migration is known to have taken place first in western Puri district, to Athagaḍh, Ranpur, Nayagaḍh, and Itamati[4]. There the initial impetus was the Mahārājā's desire to emulate Puri in the Jagannātha cult, requiring citrakāra sevakas, as was also the case in Chikiti and Jeypore. Moreover the relationship with the north took the form not only of an initial migration but also of continuing marriage ties, which in turn entail travel for various family visits. The impact of such connections may be particularly great in cases where the woman is herself articulate and works as a painter, which is true in a surprisingly large number of citrakāra families.

In the south, unlike the Puri areas, there does not seem to have been an additional incentive for citrakāras to move outward because of an excess number in the community, who required work. In fact there may be a shortage of painters around Parlakhemundi. Those at work today can barely

keep up with the demand locally for *gañjapā* cards. For wedding paintings, they have devised the ingenious solution of paper strips sent to villages that the citrakāra need not visit (fig. 7). In a painting of the same type but for the sacred thread ceremony, almost indistinguishable from a marriage picture; it is interesting that the boy receiving his *upanayana* appears in the guise of Rāma. Obviously such prefabrication leads to a standardization of imagery, for the patron chooses to buy the finished work rather than commissioning it beforehand. Furthermore one wonders whether the format of wall paintings in this areas may not reflect the use of such strips of paper. It is possible that the previous use of many registers (as in the early nineteenth century paintings at Buguda) has been reduced to a single, isolated frieze as both artists and patrons became accustomed to seeing such strips of paper.

Obviously along with the artists the patrons play a part on the production of paintings. In the bilingual areas of southern Ganjam and northern Andhra, the situation is peculiarly complex. In Tekkali, Mandasa, and Parlakhemundi. a major product of the Oriya citrakāras is paintings on coarse, unprimed cloth which is never entirely covered with paint (unlike the *paṭa citra*), sold specifically to members of the Telegu community (fig. 12). The citrakāras are generally a bit vague about how and when these are used in *pujā*, although they may have many on hand for sale. They report, on the other hand, that wedding pictures on walls of the kind so-far discussed may be done either for Telegu or for Oriya families. At any rate, if we compare a mural wedding picture done for an Oriya family (fig. 5) with a coarse-cloth painting of Kṛṣṇa (fig. 12), both by Aparao Mahapatra of Mandasa, we see a continuum of style, as one might expect in the work of one artist for different kinds of patrons. The central frontal image of Kṛṣṇa might seem foreign to the Orissan painting tradition, where profile heads are the rule. Yet Gopinātha images composed in this way are common in Orissan sculpture, and frontal faces also occur in various contexts in Orissan painting. Thus to infer Andhra influence upon the style of these cloth paintings would be to overstate the impact of the Telegu patron.

What then of the content, particularly the preference for Rāma, in the wedding pictures of the south ? We have seen that in Danda Sahi Rāma's coronation was a standard part of marriage decorations. In Puri, this subject was used at least once for an *upanayana* ceremony. Both the owner of the house and the painter said that it was the owner's decision to include this subject. This suggests a pattern of influence by the patron. Certainly *Rāmāyaṇa* subjects are within the repertoire of the artists and are generally auspicious. Thus there are on the one side permissive forces within the Orissan tradition for the use of this subject. On the other side, there is indeed a genaral association of the cult of Rāma with south India. It may be that southern influence takes the form of religious impact upon the Oriya communities of Ganjam and Andhra, who in turn as patrons may express preferences for such a subject but who are not likely to introduce a subject totally foreign to the painters' own tradition.

Patrons may also require modernity in paintings. This is visible in a town like Berhampur in details of subject-matter. The wedding musicians there are commonly shown in bell-bottom trousers. An amusing example includes the clasped hands of bride and groom with wristwatches prominently displayed (fig. 13). This is in keeping with the growing consumerism of such a town. In Bhubaneswar we have an example of modernity in style (fig. 14). Here traditional subjects are painted with simple three-dimensionality in a manner that distantly suggests Mexican murals of the 1930's.

Thus in conclusion, in historical terms one can see a continuum across central and southern Orissa, with the environs of Puri as an artistic center. Danda Sahi may preserve the oldest type of wedding pictures. Puri town has on the whole moved to simplify this type and to emphasize Jagannātha. Parlakhemundi has moved to simplify the same type in a different way and to emphasize Rāma. This evolution of course took place, not abstractly but as part of the human interaction

between artist and patron. Both people are necessary parties in the production of pictures. Neither can impose a solution unacceptable to the other and the precise result may be determined by the concern and strongmindedness of the individuals involved. At any rate, there is no substantial basis for asserting outside artistic influence, particularly in view of the absence of any alternative tradition of wedding pictures among the Telegu communities of the south.

The social significance of these paintings, not themselves ritualistic but certainly part of the content of the marriage ceremony, has been mentioned in passing.They depict over-ridingly the auspiciousness of the wedding. Possibly the vase and fish allude to fertility as well, although their inclusion in other contexts, such as sacred-thread ceremony paintings, would seem less appropriate in that case. The bride's departure and her enclosed chair (*suārī*) may appear along with musicians and female attendants. In the south the actual marriage is depicted in some detail, following Orissan customs. Thus the presence of the bride on her father's lap is described in medieval literature[8]. The groom is identified with Rāma in the south, as in Oriya literature which compares various marriages with that of Rāma and Sitā. In northern areas, Rāma and other divinities may appear independently.

It is noteworthy that there is no visual reference to the *kāndaṇā* or songs of lament by the bride. Possibly the auspiciousness of the paintings is a necessary counter-weight to the such ritualized grieving. Pictures and songs are paired, as are hope and sadness in the heart of the bride. It is also worth considering that such pictures remain a more necessary part of the wedding in Orissa than in surrounding areas, a survival not simply explained by conservatism[9]. The paintings have a structural role in the marriage itself and are one of many ways in which the citrakāra functions actively in society.

In aesthetic terms, wedding pictures are easily disparaged as crude, along with other domestic wall paintings done for *upanayana* ceremonies, doe, Rekhā Pañcamī, for Maṅgalā Pujā, etc. A less decorative term used by the practicioners themselves is *moṭā*, as opposed to *saru*. The distinction is not entirely one of medium and scale, for the old wall paintings of Buguda are still *saru*. The peculiar esteme given fine work today may be partly a function of the recently expanded market for paṭa-citras, not only as souvenirs but also as part of interior decoration. Jagannath Mahapatra, the doyen of painters in Raghurajpur, describes Halina Zealey, the foreigner who was a major force in the revival of painting, as having specifically encouraged fine and regular work, requiring straight lines in the borders and praising detail. Thus she may have somewhat influenced the painters' own standards. Today the relatively high prices paid for items of delicate workmanship and the smaller fees for wedding pictures understandably discourage the acknowledged master painters from executing the latter. Yet 25 years ago, a leader such as Panu Maharana did wedding pictures himself (fig. 9). And even today Jagannath Mahapatra can do such *moṭā* work with the speed appropriate to the genre. Verve, assurance, balance, and an absence of gross distortion characterize good *moṭā* work in the eyes of the artists. These qualities may appear with different idiosyncratic details in Parlakhemundi as well as in Danda Sahi and Raghurajpur.

What, finally, is the future of wedding paintings? Certainly as long as marriage remains as an institution there is likely to be a desire to evoke the best for the young couple. Such decoration remains common throughout Orissan towns where there are artists to paint. Increased prosperity and the availability of consumer goods may be reflected in the dowery and in the paintings themselves (fig. 13). Modernity affect the style of some (fig. 14). But a third alternative might be to commission the best of traditional paintings, encouraging quality as well as variety by means of money and interest. The result for the patron may be a work that is neither superficially modern nor frozen and dessicated. It is something that will last far longer than a display of lights and marigolds. And the result for the citrakāra would be to encourage the spontaneous side of his tradition with a sense of *paramparā* that need not be static. Perhaps such enlightened patronage could support one part of Orissa's rich artistic heritage even better than the necessary impersonal schemes of the government.

NOTES :

1. Others of this type are illustrated in E. Fischer, S. K. Mahapatra, and D. Pathy, *Orissa : Kunst and Kultur*, Zurich, 1980, pls. 609-611, 614, 615, 618 (including some *upanayana* paintings).

2. Fischer et al, *op. cit.*, pl. 617 shows a yet clearer example of this type, although the work of a less fully trained painter.

3. J. P. Das, *Puri Paintings*, New Delhi, 1981, 32-39.

4. Das, *op. cit.*, 49-51.

5. Fischer et. al., *op. cit.*, pl. 613 illustrates a painting of this same type by Prakash Chandra Mahapatra of Parlakhemundi.

6. For example, frontal faces occur in the Buguda wall paintings, Fischer et al., *op. cit.*, pl. 579. The aṇasara-paṭis, illustrate an established frontal image type.

7. Dr. K. C. Sahu, *Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*, Bhubaneswar, 1981, Ch. 8, "Marriage Customs in Medieval Orissa," p. 84.

8. Sahu, *op. cit.*, 86.

9. Another area with rich and interesting wedding paintings that continue to be made today is Tonkh in Rajasthan. These deserve to be systematically compared with those of Orissa.

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SOME INSCRIPTIONAL POETS OF THE LATER EASTERN GAṄGA TIMES

C. V. Ramachandra Rao

The purpose of this paper is to bring to the notice of scholars, a few Later Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions wherein the names of the poet-authors of these inscriptions are mentioned, and also bring out briefly the literary merit, if any, in the verses composed by these inscriptional poets. A few of these Later Eastern Gaṅga inscriptional poets, such as poct Udayana of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Svapneśvara, a brother-in-law of Rājarāja III, poet Nappana of the Nagari Plates of Aniyañka Bhīma III, dated Ś. 1151 and 1152 (A. D. 1230 and 1231), and poet Umāpati of the Bhubaneswar Inscription of Candrikā Devī, a daughter of Aniyañka Bhīma III, dated Ś. 1200 or A. D 1278[1], are known to scholars, because these inscriptions, in the Sanskrit language have been published, well edited, either in the Devanāgari script, or in Roman transliteration. But the names of a few other of these inscriptional poets, mentioned in a few of the Later Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions coming from the northern districts of costal Andhra Pradesh (Visakhapatnan and Srikakulam districts) is a sealed book to scholars without a knowledge of Telugu script, because these inscriptions, some in Sanskrit and the rest partly in Sanskrit and partly in Telugu are published in Telugu script; no transliteration of at least the Sanskrit portions of these inscriptions is available either in Devanāgari or Roman script, for the benefit of scholars who do not know the Telugu script. Even those scholars with a knowledge of Telugu script, in their articles and works on the Later Eastern Gaṅgas have not cared to notice the names on these inscriptional poets. One or two at least of these posts, like Umāpati, are truly brilliant and famous as they had wielded their pen and sword with equal dexterity, and were dignitaries in the government of the day; but here also, any independent work that any of these poets might have written has not come to light. Even in the case of the rest of these inscriptional poets, not well-known, in their brief inscriptional compositions, onc can notice flashes of genius and poetry of a high and classical order; but of these poets also, inscriptions reveal the names of very few. There are hundreds of inscriptions where we find poetry of a very high order but where the able and talented authors of these beautiful verses of great literary merit have remained anonymous. For example an anonymous inscriptionol poet has put the noble qualities of Narasiṃha II, in the following profound verse, in the *Śārdulavikrīdita* metre :

> *Vīraśrī Narasihyadevanṛpatir=bhūpālacūḍāmaṇis=*
> *tasmadavīrabhūd=cirāb* (*h*) *iguṇa sad=ratnaugha*
> *ratnākaraḥ/yasmin=vihvalatā jalalirapi no no*
> *duṣtasatvotkaro gambhiryanttu tatodhikam*
> *jaladhijapyaste mandhanāt.* (sic)[2]

When one reads such verses, one feels it a *desideratum* that anthological volumes, region-wise or dynasty-wise, of this inscriptional poetry are published.

Coming to the subject of the present paper, we notice the following poets from the Later Eastern

Gaṅgā inscriptions, which as explained above are in Telugu script.

(1) *Citsukhārya* : An inscription from Simhacalam, in Sanskṛta, dated Ś. 1184 or A. D. 1262, of the time of Narasiṃha I, mentions, in *gadya* or prose at the end of the inscription that its author was one Citsukhārya (*Citsukhārya kṛteyam praśastiḥ*)[3]. It is completely silent regarding any biographical details of Citsukhārya. The inscription begins with a fine benedictory verse, invoking Lord Narasiṃha for His blessings in the metre *Vasantatilaka* and runs thus :

Yasmai svayam spṛhayate khalu vācyamānā
kalyāna jann (ma) *vasatiḥ kamalāpi nityam/*
Jyotistadastu bhavatām vibhavāya bhūyaḥ śrī
siṃha-sailanilyam Hariśabda vācyam. (sic)

Then in a *Śārdula* it describes king Narasiṃha, and his minister Gaṇeśvara Camūnātha, son of Someśvaranāyaka of Vaiśvānarānvaya, the donor. The inscription concludes with a verse in the *Sragdharā* metre, giving the date, and the nature of the donation. It may be observed here that in a majority of the inscriptions the date is generlly given in the *Sragdharā* metre, probably because, it is a lengthy metre of 21 syllables in a quarter and gives scope to express all the details in dating, such as the Śaka year, the cyclic year, the *tithi. vāra, nakṣatra*, eclipses if any etc. in chronograms.

(2) *Perumāṇḍi Paṇḍita* : An inscription of the time of Bhānudeva I, from Simhacalam, dated in Ś. 1190 or A. D. 1268, referring to the donor Aktāyi Senāpati, mentions as its anthor one Perumaṇḍi Paṇḍita (*likhitamidam Perumāṇḍi Paṇḍitena*)[4]. The inscription is in Sanskṛta verse and Telugu prose. It begins with a benedictory verse invoking the blessings of Lord Viṣṇu as Varāharūpa, in *Anuṣṭubh* and runs thus :

Līlāvarāharūpo yaḥ kalyāṇamabhivarṣatu yam
prāpyadharaṇī nityamāliṅgana sukham dadhau.

It gives the date, the name of the donor Aktāyi Senāpati and his donation, a garden to the god, in a *Sragdharā*. Then follows the Telugu portion of the inscription wherein it is said that Aktāyi, commissioned by Narasiṃha I, had completed the work of building the tower of the *sanctum sanctorum*, the main porch, the dance hall and perambulatory of the temple in Ś. 1190, in the reign of Bhānudeva I. We miss this important information in the Sanskṛta portion. It is possible that the Telugu portion of the inscription was also written by Paṇḍita Perumāṇḍi. This Perumāṇḍi Paṇḍita is the author, also, of another private donative record from Simhacalam, dated Ś. 1192 or A. D. 1270[5]. Here also, at the end of the Telugu portion, in Sanskṛta prose, it is mentioned that the inscription was composed by Paṇḍita Perumāṇḍi (*Viraciteyam paddhatiḥ paṇḍita Perumāṇḍinā*). The inscription begins with a single Sanskrit verse in the *Sragdhara* metre, giving the date, the donors who were two brothers of Harita *gotra* and the donation consisting of fifty cows and two lamp stands. The verse, containing these factual details, has no special literary merit.

(3) *Umāpati* : Poet Umāpati is known to scholars, as has already been mentioned above from Bhubaneswar inscription of Candrikādevi dated Ś. 1200 or A. D. 1278[6]. An inscription in Sanskṛta poetry of a high order, dated Ś. 1193 (?), praising the valour of Bhānudeva I, from the Amareśvara temple, Boni, Bhimuni Patnam taluk, Visakhapatnam district, mentions as its donor one Senāpati Umāpati, who was a devotee of Śiva, and made provision for a perpetual lamp and also caused a well to be dug, at the Amareśvara temple[7]. The author of this Sanskṛta inscription is not mentioned. But on the basis of a verse which occurs, both in the Bhubaneswar inscription and in this Amareśvara inscription, it is reasonably assumed that the authors of both these inscriptions is one and the same person, i. e., Umāpati, and that poet Umāpati of the Bhubaneswar insciprtion is the same as Senāpati Umāpari mentioned in the Amareśvara inscription at Boni. This verse, in the *Śārdūla* metre, occuring in both these inscriptions describes the valour of Bhānudeva I and the prowess of his army. It runs, thus with negligible variations.

Verse 3. of the Amareśvara temple inscription is as follows :

Seṣonūnamanūna maḷui vilasanmāṇikyamālāmi-
saddyattejaḥ kanikabhireva vidhuro majjatphaṇi-

grāmaṇiḥ pātalambhasikimccaya......... jhcmkāri nāsavilairudd(h)ūto gagane ravisciramasā buddtna parṇāyate.[7] *(sic)*

Verse. 4 of the Bhubaneswar inscription is as follows :

Seṣaḥ svīyaśiraḥ sahasravilasan māṇikya mālācchalat yattējaḥ kasikabhireṣaviddhuro' majjatphaṇigrāmaṇi pātāḷāmbhasi kiñcayat karighaṭābhāmkāri nāsanilai ruddhatagagane raviściramasar buḍtna parṇāyate[9].

The Amareśvara temple inscription begins with a verse in the *Drutavilambita* metre giving the date. Then follow two Śārdūlas praising Bhānudeva, his father Narasiṃha, and the prowess of Bhānudeva's elephant corps, the trumpet sounds of which make the sun in the sky shake like a leaf. This verse in high rhetoric is given above. Then follow verses in the *Rathoddhata*, *Pṛthvī*, and *Mandākrāntā* describing Umāpati, and the excellence of his donation consisting a golden jewel, a perpetual lamp, a garden, and a well with excellent water

(4) *Nṛsiṃha Sudhi* An inscription from Simhacalam dated Ś. 1200 (A. D. 1278), the 18th aṅka year of Bhānudeva I, in Sanskṛta and Telugu, mentions, one Nṛsiṃha Sudhi as the author of that inscription. (*eṣa Nṛsimha Studhiyo racita praśastiḥ*)[10]. The Sanskṛta portion, in verse, says that one Vijayāvanīndra was then ruling the Kaliṅga *viṣaya*. The Telugu portion, translating this says that Vijayadeva was the Kaliṅga Parikṣā, and that the inscription was issued during his governorship (*majjitanamuna*)[11]. The inscription is actually a private donative record, mentionng the gift of 47 cows and a bronze lamp-stand by one Allala Nāyaka, son of Drāvida Perumāḷi of Viśvāmitra *gotra*. The inscriptional poet has managed to put all this drab information, in four Sanskṛta verses, composed in the *Vasantatilaka*, *Mandākrāntā* and *Anuṣṭubh* metres, respectively.

(5) *Annu Paṇḍita* : Annu Paṇḍita is the author of a very elaborate inscription, in 15 verses, from Simhacalam. This inscription is dated Ś. 1213, the 15th *aṅka* year of Narasiṃha II.[12] It gives elaborate details of the donations made and services instituted by one Nārāyaṇa Senāpati, appointed in that very year (Ś. 1213) as Kaliṅga Parikṣā or Governor of the Kaliṅga province. Nārāyaṇa Senāpati claims that his father Gopāla Senāpati, a Brāhmaṇa of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, a man of great intellect and an adept in arts, efficiently bore the burden of the entire realm of Vīra Śrī Narasiṃhadevanṛpati, *i. e.*, Narasiṃha II. This inscription is also important to know of some aspects of the importance of the temple, in medieval times, as a porch of higher education where facilities existed for instruction of pupils in several branches of learning including fine arts. The inscription says that Nārāyaṇa Senāpati made provision in the temple at Simhacalam for instruction in the *Kāṇḍava* and the *Taittirīya* branches of the *Yajurveda* by two professors, and also for instruction in *Purāṇa*, *Kāvya*, *Nāṭaka*, *Cchanda*, *Vyākaraṇa* and *Abhidhāna*. He also instituted services for dance and music. Further, he made provision for the maintenance of four scholars who were to teach in the School of Philosophy and Grammar attached to the temple.[13] All these several and elaborate details, the poet Annu Paṇḍita has couched in 15 verses marked by verve and style and in the metres *Śārdūla*, *Mandākrāntā* and *Anuṣṭubh*. Annu Paṇḍita, who could put these factual details of a a donation in such forceful verses, only had he applied his poetic talents to the writing of a *kāvya* he would have been certainly a great success; but we know not of any such work from his pen. Here we may quote two verses from the inscription :

Verse 1. *Atyuttuṅgayaśaḥpratāpavibhava gaṅggānvayaḥ purā rājano bahavassubhassamabhivānteṣām guṇagrāmaṇiḥ/Vīraśrī Narasiṃhadevanṛpatirvidyāvilasonnata sarvajña sthiradhīssadāvijayate dātā jayaśrī sakhāḥ.*

Verse 6. *Śrīmat puṇya purāṇa kāvyanikarālaṅkāra saṃnāṭaka cchando vyakaraṇābhidhānanicaya vyākhyāna hetoḥ punaḥ/Senānātha Nṛsiṃhadāsa vibudha ṣṣaṭ paṇḍitānām trayam teṣāmatra nibandhasatkamapica Śrīmannṛsiṃhālaye*

Verse 7. *Atyut kṛṣṇayajuśśruteraharahaḥ svādhyāya satrdvayasthityai kāṇḍava taittirīya kalasat śākhādvayasya kramāt/atradhyāpake viprayorapi punarvṛtyai nibandhatrayaṁ Śrīmat dhanya vadānya manyacarīta ssāmantacūḍāmaṇiḥ.*

At the end of the fourteenth verse, Annu Paṇḍita says that the verses are written by him (*Annu Paṇḍitavaryeṇa viracita amī śāsana ślokaḥ*)

Raison d'etre of the Inscriptional poets :

How are we to account for the existence of these inscriptional poets whose name are known only from inscriptions, and from no other independent work of theirs. It is surmised that these inscriptional poets stationed themselves in temples, either officially or otherwise, just as we find writers of deeds, licensed or otherwise, stationed in the registration offices of today. Like the present day deed-writers offering their services to draft deeds for a fee which is either fixed or negotiable, during the medieval times, these inscriptional poets, some of them brilliant but for some reason unable to find partronage probably, eked their livelihood by offering to put in verse, and in Sanskṛta, the official and sacred language, for a fee, the main details regarding the donor and the donation made by him, which were recorded on the stone walls of the temple for perpetuity and made the donor feel elated, We should remember here that during the medieval times, among its several beneficial functions the temple also served as a registry office, on the walls of which all kinds of deeds, royal, public or private, —sale deeds, agreements, gifts, donations, boundary disputes and judgments —were recorded. This should explain the existence of these inscriptional poets. Sometimes at the end of the inscribed records, the name of the poet-writer of the text of the inscription is mentioned; but in the majority of cases, it appears to have gone unrecorded. This should explain for rhe occurence of the names of a few inscriptional poets. in the records of nearly all medieval dynasties (in Deccan), and also for the existence in Sanskṛta verse, at least a part of the inscriptions, without a mention of the poet-writers of these verses, in at least fifty percent of the donative inscriptions. There were royal śāsanādhikārins; but they appear to have confined themselves to the drafting of the royal copper plate grants, though we have a few examples of the lithic records of the kings being drafted by their śāsanādhikārins, who were also poets of great fame. Śrīnātha, one of the greatest of the Telugu poets, and the author of several outstanding works such as the *Sṛṅgāra Naiṣadha* and the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, was the *Vidyādhikārī* of the Reḍḍi king Peda Komaṭi Vema; he had drafted all the grants and gift deeds of ihe king, from the earliest Ponnupalli grant dated Ś. 1326 to the latest Rudravaram grant, dated Ś. 1341.

NOTES :

1. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 198 ff; *Ibid*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 235 ff; *Ibid*, Vol. XII, 150 ff.
2. *South Indian Inscriptions(SII)*, Vol.V, Srikurmam, No. 1188.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 693
4. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 1142
5. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 726
6. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, p. 150 f.
7. *SII*, Vol. X, No. 717
8. *Ibid.*
9. As given by S. N. Rajguru, in *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. V, No. 1, P. 78
10. *SII*. Vol. VI, No. 719.
11. For more details regarding this Vijayendra see Ramachandra Rao, *Administration and Societs in Midival Andhra under ihe Later Estern Gangas and the Suryavamsa Gajapati*
12. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 904.
13. *Ibid.*

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RECENT EPIGRAPHICAL AND NUMISMATIC DISCOVERIES AND THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR ĀNDHRA HISTORY

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It is proposed in this paper to highlight some of the recent discoveries of inscriptions and coins in Andhra Pradesh which have been of great help to the reconstruction of Āndhra history. I have taken into consideration the discoveries of the last two decades (1960-80), since the facts that are revealed by them have not yet received the attention of scholars and students.

It is well known that, among the sources of history, epigraphy plays a very important part in that it is usually genuine and written at the time when a construction was made or a gift was given over to a religious institution. Stone inscriptions are generally found where they were originally erected. In the case of copper plate grants, however, some of them could have been discovered in places far off from gift villages recorded in them, as they were in individual possession. The details supplied by stone or copper plate inscriptions are many, though their main purpose was religious. Inscriptions have revealed the existence of many dynasties of Āndhra, not known from any other source, like the Bṛhatphalāyanas, Śālaṅkāyanas, Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Musunūris etc. What little of social and cultural information they give, has been utilized by scholars.

Āndhra numismatics has not been so very helpful to the historian. The scope of the evidence is itself limited. In Āndhra, the coins of the Śātavāhanas and the Roman emperors are the most important. The Ikṣvākus copy the types of the Śātavāhana coinage. We have coins of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Eastern Cālukyas, but more important is the identification of the Kākatīya coins. All these and a catalogue of the Vijayanagara coins have been published by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. The coins of Chimuka have indicated the establishment of the Śātavāhana family in 1st century B.C. I.K. Sarma's *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire* lists out coins of the Śātavāhana period and discusses their significance. A. M. Shastri has edited the Book *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations* in which there is a discussion on the types of coins attributed to different kings of the Śātavāhana family, the significance of coins for Śātavāhana chronology, and the bilingual coins. A survey of Āndhra coins from A.D. 225 to A.D. 1300 forms a part of the book, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India* by Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, which is a welcome addition to books of south Indian numismatics.

The credit of publishing the coin catalogues as well as a number of archaeological publications including epigraphical ones should go to the State Department of Archaeology. In the last two decades, the publication was speeded up so that many unknown inscriptions are brought to light helping historical reconstruction. The new publications like the *Epigraphia Andhrica*, on the lines of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, and the *Epigraphia Indica*, gave a fillip for editing new inscriptions or for offering new interpretations to the already known inscriptions pertaining to Andhra Pradesh. The

series of District Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, published by the Department are very useful. The copper plates in the possession of the Hyderabad Museum were edited in two volumes by N. Ramesan, besides another volume entitled *Studies in Medieval Deccan History*. I would review the work done and point out the problems that still await solution.

The inscriptions of Āndhra, like those of ancient India, start with the reign of Aśoka Maurya. It is well.known that Aśokan edicts are found at Erragudi[1] and Rājulamandagiri[2] in the Kurnool district. Recently we have the discovery of a fragmentary pillar inscription of the same king at Amarāvati[3] in the Sattenapalle taluk of the Guntur district. This has indicated that Amarāvatī was a famous town during the Aśokan times, and a religious centre. Small inscriptions are also noticed in the course of excavations and are dated to 2nd and 1st century B.C. At Guṇṭupalli was discovered an inscription in characters of 2nd or 1st century B. C. mentioning the gift of a scribe of Siri Sada styled as King and Mahāmeghvāhana and Lord of Kaliṅga and Mahiṣaka. He is identified with either Khāravela[4] or a successor of this king[5].

At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, famous for the inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus, who succeeded the Śātavāhanas, an inscription of Vijaya Śātakarṇi was found registering a gift on a Vaiśākha Paurṇami day in the 6th regnal year of the king[6]. This happens to be the only inscription of this king. It is inferred that this king might have lent his name to the town Vijayapurī, which became the capital of the Ikṣvākus subsequently.

Many of the inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus have been brought to light in the course of the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa during 1954-60 and were edited in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*[7]. This is a very good supplement to those already edited by Vogel in the earlier numbers of the same Journal.[8] Besides these, inscriptions of Cāntamūla I like the Reṇṭāla inscription[9] and the Kesanapalli inscription[10] are brought to light, though details of the rule of Cāntamūla I are obtained even now from the inscriptions of Vīrapuruṣadatta and Ehuvala Cāntamūla. Though dated in the 5th and 13th years of the king, the inscriptions of Cāntamūla I do not mention the performance of *aśvamedha*, *vājapeya* etc. which are invariably attributed to him in the inscriptions of his successors. They also speak of his patronage to Buddhism, while his Brahmanical leanings are known from the epithets occurring in the inscriptions of his successors.

The inscriptions found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are very useful for the reconstruction of Ikṣvāku chronology. Even though the reigns of the four kings *viz*. Cāntamūla I, Vīrapuruṣadatta, Cāntamūla II and Rudrapuruṣadatta are known earlier, the periods of their rule are extended by the new inscriptions. Now we have to account for at least 68 years of total rule for these kings because of the availability of inscriptions of the four kings dated in 13th, 20th, 24th and 11th regnal years respectively. This goes against the interpretation of the Purāṇic passage "*Andhrāḥ Śrīparvatīyāś=ca dvi pañcāśataṃ samāḥ*" that they ruled for 52 years. The other interpretation that they were rulers for 100 years is more acceptable. If we take into consideration another passage that the Āndhras, who succeeded the main Āndhra family, were seven in number, it can be stated that the Ikṣvāku rulers were seven in number with a total rule of nearly 100 years. However inscriptions reveal only 4 names with a minimum rule of 68 years.

In the context of chronology, the use of the cyclic year 'Vijaya'[11] and of the Ābhīra era[12] of A.D. 248 figure prominently. D.C. Sircar[13] considered that there are two inscriptions at Nāgārjunakuṇḍa, one belonging to the reign of Vīrapuruṣadatta and another to that of Cāntamūla II, mentioning 'Vijaya'. Since the cyclic year repeats in 60 years, he put an interval of 60 years between the two kings and equated the years, with A.D. 273 and A.D. 333. In between the two dates, he provided for 10 year rule of the Ābhīras at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, equating the 30th year of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa of the inscription with A.D. 278.

It may be pointed out that the rule of the Ikṣvākus cannot be extended beyond A. D. 300 because the early rule of the Śālaṅkāyanas and Pallavas has to be provided before the southern campaign of Samudragupta in A. D. 340-50. Moreover, the cyclic year can be taken to be the last date of Vīrapuruṣadatta and

the first date of his successor, Cāntamūla II. There are so many other controversies in respect of the political events, but all these must have taken place sometime before A. D. 300. The Ikṣvāku chronology depends to some extent on the date of the end of the Śātavāhana rule, on which also there is disagreement among scholars. The inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus brought to light the existence of temples, dedicated to Śiva. The inscription of Vasuśeṇa points to the worship of Aṣṭabhujasvāmin.

For the post-Ikṣvāku and pre-Eastern Cālukya periods, there are a number of copper plates discovered in the last two decades. Amondg them, mention should be made of the Dhārikāṭūra grant of Yuvamahārāja Acaṇḍavarman[14] and the Penugoṇḍa plates of Hastivarman II[15] of the Śālaṅkāyana family. Though these kings are known to us from the other records of the Śālaṅkāyanas like the Pedavegi and Kānukollu Sanskrit plates, they are now known to be issuers of the grants. More recently, a stone inscription has been discovered at Guṇṭupalli[16] pertaining to the reign of Nandivarman II which, for the first time, revealed the Buddhist leanings of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

New discoveries have revealed the existence of one Pallava Siṃhavarman, the brother of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa, known from the Uruvapalli[17] and Neduṅgarāya grants.[18] The ancestors of the issuer mentioned in the these records are nearly the same as those mentioned in the recently discovered Vesanta[19] and Sakrepaṭṇa plates[20] of Siṃhavarman. As is well-known, Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa dated his two records in the reign of one Siṃhavarman, who is taken to be a brother of Viṣṇugopa by Fleet[21] and the son of Viṣṇugopa himself by Hultzsch.[22] Now the former surmise of Fleet is confirmed by these two records. But the genealogy and chronology of the family are still disputed matters.

It is the Viṣṇukuṇḍin period which has received the attention of a host of scholars after the discovery of the two sets of Tummalagūḍem plates or Indrapālanagara plates[23] in 1965. The date for the reign of Vikramendravarman II known from the second set *viz. Śaka.* 488=A. D. 566 corresponding to the eleventh year of the king is the only acceptable date for all scholars. His reign period ranges between A. D. 555 and 569. All other details supplied by these two grants are interpreted differently. The discoverer of the two sets, B. N. Sastry formulated a long genealogy of the family. He placed the kings of the 1st set *viz.* Indravarman, Mādhavavarman and Govindavarman at the beginning, followed by the kings noted in the Rāmatīrtham, Chikkuḷḷa, Ipūr plates (2nd set) and the Tuṇḍi grant. and in succession the kings known from the Polamūru and Ipūr plates (1st set). Except for the addition of the kings of Tummala gūḍem plates (1st set), this was the theory advocated by earlier scholars like K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, [24] V. S. Ramachandramurti[25] and B. V. Krishna Rao. [26] O. Ramachandraiya [27] and S Sankaranaraynnan [28] generally support the view of B. N. Sastri, though they differ in respect of chronology. These scholars distinguish two Mādhavavarmas, saying that one was the performer of 11 aśvamedhas and 1000 kratus, while the other was in addition, a performer of *hiraṇyagarbha* and a delight to the women of Trivaranagara

There is another school of thought that, irrespective of the slight differences in the description of Mādhavavarman in the grants, he should have been one and the same. This is the view-point of D. C. Sircar,[29] K. Gopalachari, [30] M Rama Rao, [31] Ajay Mitra Shastri, [32] V. V. Mirashi [33] and V. Sundararama Sastri. [34] Some of these scholars are now forced to close the rule of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins by A. D. 569, as Vikramendra II happens to be the last ruler of the dynasty. Even here, there are differences of opinion among them. Rama Rao considered kings of the Tummalagūḍem 1st set as members of a collateral family who ruled after A. D. 569. These kings are taken to be the early members of the family by Ajay Mitra Shastri. V. V. Mirashi regards, on the basis of palaeographical similarities of the two Tummalagūḍem sets, Indravarman of the 1st set as the same as Indravarman, the issuer of the Rāmatīrtham Plates, and places Mādhavavarman and Govindavarman, son and grandson of Indravarman in the genealogy, in the period after A. D. 569. D. C. Sircar and Sundararama Sastri consider the Polamūru plates and to some

extent the Tummalagūḍem plates (1st set) as later copies of the original grants, so that late palaeography in those charters could be explained. Venkataramanayya argued that Govindavarman and Mādhavavarman ruled in Trivaranagara for sometime as contemporaries of Vikramendra II.[35] Anyway the two sets of Tummalagūḍem plates have evoked much discussion on the subject.

We must now turn to the advent of the early Cālukyas in Āndhra. This is made clear in the Māruṭūru plates of Pulakeśin II[36] dated in his 8th regnal year (A.D. 617). Though the Aihoḷe inscription of the king dated in A.D. 634 eulogizes his achievement in the battles of Piṣṭapura and Kuṇāla, the precise date of the conquest of Āndhra is known from this grant which was issued after the seizure of Piṣṭapura. It is still doubtful whether Pulakeśin defeated the Viṣṇukuṇḍins or the Durjayas. The copper plate grants of Guṇaga Vijayāditya and his successors state that Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana wrested Veṅgī from the Durjayas. It may be pointed out that until A.D 624, Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana was not associated with Veṅgi. So, it is possible that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were defeated by Pulakeśin II, and the Durjayas by Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana either immediately before A.D. 624 or sometime before A.D. 631, when he secured the rule of Veṅgī for his successors.

In respect of the Eastern Cālukya period, a discussion has taken place about the relations of Rājarājanarendra and Vijayāditya VII, and also of Kulottuṅga and Vijayāditya VII. Venkataramanayya[37] maintained that Vijayāditya served the Western Cālukyas, while Rājarāja wus ruling in Veṅgī. This has been refuted on the basis of the Malleśvaram inscription of Trailokyamalla,[38] by saying that Vijayāditya was an unknown son of Someśvara I. G. S. Gai[39] and D. C. Sircar[40] point out that the relations between Rājarāja and Vijayāditya, as also of Vijayāditya and Rājendra (the later Kulottuṅga) were cordial.

For the history of the Kākatīyas, recent epigraphic evidence has been of immense help. The Bayyāram tank inscription[41] furnished the names of six predecessors of Beta I who was the earliest to be mentioned in the inscriptions of his grandson. That they served the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as generals has also become clear, though at a later date they became feudatories of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. This inscription has given scope for the view that Kākatīya Guṇḍyana of the Māṅgallu grant of Dānārṇava[42] was a member of the Kākatīya family. The Sanigaram epigraphs[43] have brought to light inscriptions of Beta I and Prola I, who were not known to have issued inscriptions prior to this publication. Inscriptions of the feudatory families like the Recerlas have been discovered as a result of which their history becomes clearer. The last date of Rudramadevī is furnished by the Chandupaṭla record[44] dated in November, A. D. 1289.

II

Turning to the numismatic side, we have to mention the coins of the Śātavāhanas. We have a number of coins of a king called 'Śātavāhana', who is known earlier. Though scholars like Mirashi and Rama Rao thought that he was the founder of the family, others pointed out that he might be a ruler, who succeeded Śātakarṇi II. This is to some extent confirmed by the availability of the coins of 'Śātavāhana' at Nevasa in an upper level, while coins of Śātakarṇi are found in an earlier level of Period IV, dated to 200-50 B.C. But, on the basis of differences in palaeography, some hold that there might have been a number of kings who ruled with the same name from about 3rd century B. C.

More important and more recent is the discovery of coins of Chimuka who is identified as Simuka, the founder of the Śātavāhana danasty.[45] The palaeography of these coins is no doubt of 1st century B. C./1st century A. D. But differences exist in respect of this identification, as is seen from I. K. Sarma's view[46] that this king should be placed prior to Pulumāvi I and that he was the slayer of Kāṇva Suśarman. He is of the view that the dynasty rose to power in the second half of 3rd century B. C.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that P. L. Gupta has noted on the basis of evolution of coin-legends, that until 1st century B. C., no coins were issued by kings with the royal prefix. If the Śātavāhana dynasty began to rule in 3rd century B. C., it is not explicable how to interpret the numistmatic evidence.

The bilingual silver coins of the Śātavāhanas have been discussed by scholars. The coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi and Yajña Śātakarṇi contain, besides the Brāhmī legend on the obverse, a slightly variant form of Brāhmī on the reverse. It is considered by some scholars as Tamil-Brāhmī. The language of the reverse legend is taken to be Tamil. Telugu or Drāviḍī Prakrit by different writers.

Next to the Śātavāhana coinage, mention should be made of the Roman coinage in the A. P. Government Museum. P. L. Gupta, who made a study of it, noted one important feature on the coins *i. e.* symbols of the punch-marked variety, indicating that the coins were given the royal sanction[48]. He also explained that the "cancellation mark" on the royal busts on these coins does not indicate that they were withdrawn from circulation, but it would refer only to an indigenous mark to attest the genuineness of the metal and of the required weight. He has also shown that the weight of these Roman silver coins corresponds to the silver punch-marked variety and therefore they might have been used as they were received in the country

There are coin-catalogues of the Ikṣvākus, Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Eastern Cālukyas published by the Department of Archaeology and Museums. The discovery of the coins of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in parts of Maharashṭra and those of the Eastern Cālukyas in Telangana would show the connections of those dynasties with the areas, which did not yield their inscription. Besides these coins, the coins of the "Mahiṣa Kings" received the attention of scholars. These coins collected from parts of the erstwhile Hyderabad State are attributed to the kings of the Mahiṣa family by V. V. Mirashi[49], while D. C. Sircar refutes the attribution.[50]

More important is the identification of the Kākatīya coins, on the basis of the legend on the seal of the Khaṇḍavalli plates of the time of Kākati Prataparudra.[51] The legend reads as 'Dāyagajakesari', 'a lion to the elephant *i. e.* enemy'. This seems to be a title borne by the kings of the Kākatīya family, though other copper plate seals of the Kākatīyas do not bear this legend. The gold coins available in the A. P. Government Museum, bearing the legend, 'Rāyagajakesari' or 'Dāyagajakesari' have now been identified as the Kākatīya coins.[52]

The above survey of new inscriptions and coins has shown how they have been useful for the history of Andhra Pradesh. It must be pointed out that there are a number of interpretations offered by different scholars, and some problems still await solution.

NOTES :

1. *E. I.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 1 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 211 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 40 ff.
4. R. Subrahmanyam, *The Guntupalli Brāhmi Inscription of Khāravela*, p. 2.
5. *J. E. S. I.*, Vol. V, p. 49.
6. *E. I.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 273 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol, XXXV, pp. 1 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp 61 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 29 ff.
10. *E. A.*, Vol. I, pp. 146 ff.
11. *E. I.*, Vol XXXV, pp. 1 ff.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 207 ff.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 6.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1 ff.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 7 ff.
16. *J. E. S. I.*, Vol. V, pp 56 ff.
17. *I. A.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 ff.
18. *E. A.*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.
19. N. Ramesan, *Copper-plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, pp. 236 ff.
20. *E. I.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 90 ff.
21. *I. A.*, Vol. V, p. 50.
22. *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 160 ff.
23. *Bhārati*, June 1965, pp. 14 ff; July 1965, pp. 2 ff.
24. *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV, pp. 13 ff.
25. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol, X, pp 187 ff.
26. *History of the Early Dynasties of Āndhradēśa*, pp. 404 ff.
27. *Śātavāhanas and their Successors*, pp. 49 ff.
28. S. Sankaranarayanan, *The Vishṇukuṇḍins and their Times*, pp. 1 ff.
29. *Successors of Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 97 ff; Presidential Address at the Fifth Session of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress, Dec. 1980, pp. 5 ff.

30. *Early History of the Āndhra Country*, 2nd ed., pp. 205 ff.
31. *Studies in the Early History of Āndhradēśa*, pp. 105 ff.
32. Sectional President's address, pp. 4 ff.
33. *J. I. H.*, Vol. L, p. 5.
34. *Procedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress*, Vol. II, pp. 7 ff; *Bhārati*, January 1978, pp. 11 ff.
35. *The Vishṇukuṇḍins*, p. 24.
36. *Copper-plate Inscriptions in the A. P. Government Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 11 ff.
37. *Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī*, pp. 229 ff
38. *E. I.*, XXXV, pp. 253 ff.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 261 ff.
41. *E. A.*, Vol. I, pp. 71 ff
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 57 ff.
43. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 67 ff.
44. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pp. 40 ff.
45. *J. E S. I*, Vol. V, pp. 136 ff.
46. *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, p. 132.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 107 ff; *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*, pp. 68 ff.
48. P. L. Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh*, pp. 63 ff.
49. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 116 ff.
50. *Studies in Indian Coins*, Chaps. VI & VII.
51. *E. A.*, Vol. IV, pp. 103 ff., and also plate.
52. P. V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Kākatīya Coins and Measures*, pp. 3 ff.

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INLAND TRADE OF ORISSA IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD (C.A.D. 650-1200)

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A survey of Orissa's inland trade in the Early Medieval period (C. A. D. 650-1200) can be made with a few isolated facts gleaned from the epigraphic records of the time and with some scanty information provided by the accounts of Yuan Chwang and some early Arab geographers.

The allusion to a *Vaiśyāgrahāra*[1] or a privileged holding created in favour of the *Vaiśyas*[2] in the Chicacole plates[3] of Madhukāmārṇava (Gaṅga year 527 (?) of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara and occasional references to the *Vaiśyas*[4], *Vaṇikas*[5], *Vyāpārins*[6], and *Seṭṭis*[7] or *Śreṣṭhi(n)s*[8] in some other inscriptions of this period bear a testimony to the existence of a mercantile community in Orissa engaged in trade and commerce. Besides, the mention of a *Vaṇika-sthāna* or 'an association of merchants'[9] in the Sonepur plates[10] of Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta (C. A. D. 882-922) of the Somavaṁśī dynasty, and a reference to a *Deśi* or 'a guild of local merchants'[11] in the Vizianagaram stone inscription[12] of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva (C A D. 1078-1147 or 1152), presuppose the existence of merchants' guilds in Orissa during this period Understandably, these guilds functioned in a similar manner like their counterparts in other regions of India and tried to increase the volume of trade in Orissa

Our inscriptions also refer to artisans and craftsmen like the *Kāṃsyakāra*[13] or *Kaṃsāra (i)*[14] (brazier), *Suvarnakāra*[15], (goldsmith), *Lauhakāra*[16] (blacksmith), *Śauṇḍhika*[17] (distiller), *Tant(r) avāya*[18] (weaver), *Kumbhakāra*[19] (potter), *Patakara*[20] (splitter of wood and also a carpenter)[21], *Śaṅkhika*[22] (worker on conch shells, *Guḍika*[23] (sugar dealer or sweetmeat seller). *Gandhika*[24] (perfumer), *Kaivartta*[25] (fisherman), *Gokuṭa*[26] (milkman), *Teli*[27] (oilman), *Tāmbulika*[28] (betel seller), and *Sutradhāra*[29] or *Śilpiśālin*[30] or *Vijñāni*[31] (mason or sculptor or engraver), who might have formed their guilds each for greater social mobility and closer economic cooperation.

Besides *Dhānya*[32] (paddy), *Biri*[33] (black-gram), *Dugdha*[34] (milk), *Ghṛta*[35] (ghee), *Madhu* (honey), *Taila*[37] (oil), fruits[38] and condiments[39], there were among the articles of trade : brass and bronze works[40], gold and silver ornaments[41], iron weapons, beams and tools[42], wine and liquor[43], cotton and silk clothes[44], potteries and other earthen wares[45], stone wares[46], wood works[47], perfumeries[48], sugar and allied products[49], conch shells[50], fish[51], betel[52], and salt[53].

These merchandise and perhaps other essential commodities not mentioned in our records were sold in the markets called *hāṭṭas*[54] which were located in all the towns and big villages. One such *hāṭṭa* was established by Mādhavidevī the queen of Śubhākaradeva I (C.A.D. 790) of the Bhauma-kara dynasty, near the Mādhaveśvara temple in the close vicinity of modern Jajpur representing the Bhauma-kara capital Guhadevapāṭaka or Guheśvara-pāṭaka[55]. Besides, reference to such *hāṭṭas* as centres of local trade is found in a later Gaṅga record[56]. Thus the *hāṭṭa* was a centre of internal trade where varieties of goods were sold.

That the trade centres, busy in commercial activities, had considerable importance in the kingdom

is brought out by the Baud plates of Neṭṭabhañjadeva of the Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjali-maṇḍala which mention an Aṅgulaka Pāṭṭaṇā as a rendezvous of merchants and as a famous commercial centre selling all types of goods[57]. Aṅgulaka Pāṭṭaṇā has been satisfactorily identified with modern Angul town in the Dhenkanal district[58]. Another important centre of trade was Che-li-ta-lo (Charitrapura), a town on the south-eastern shore of Orissa[59] which has been identified with a site near Kuruma, about eight kilometres to the north-east of Konarak in the Puri district[60].

The commodities, at the time of their sale to customers, were either weighed or measured as was the case. Among the different weights and measures used in markets, our records refer to the *Muraka* (*ya*) or *Mura*[61] (about six mounds)[62], *Āḍhaka* or *Aḍā*[63] (264 handfuls) or one-fourth of a *Drona*[64]), *Kuñcaka* or *Kuñca* (*i*)(eight handfuls[65]), *Kola*[67] or *Tolaka* (80 *ratis* or 180 grains[68]), and *Puṭṭi*[69] (about eight hundred to one thousand standard seers[70]). Besides being a grain measure, the *Puṭṭi* was also used as a land measure[71] like the *Vaṭi*[72], *Māṇa*[73] and *Guṇṭa* (*ṭha*[74]).

The Hindol plate of Śubhākaradeva III (C.A.D. 839) of the Bhauma-kara dynasty, which mentions that the cost of six *Āḍhakas* of rice was four *Hiraṇyapāṇas*[75], suggests the use of coins as medium of exchange in markets at that time. Besides, references to *Rupya* (*ka*) or *Ruā* (silver coins) in the Chipurupalli plates[76] of Vajrahaṣṭa *alias* Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 383), Patna Museum plates[77] of Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta (R. Y. 6), and Phulasara Plates[78] of Kīrtirājadeva[79]; *Māḍa* or *Māḍha* (gold coins) in the Kāmbakāya plates[80] of Udayāditya of the time of Devendravarman (Śaka 1003 ?); and *Purāṇa* or *Pāṇa* (silver coins) in the Algum inscription of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, prove their circulation in early medieval Orissa and probable use in commercial transactions. Among the coins *of* the period discovered so far, mention may be made of the gold coins of the Nalas, gold and silver coins of the Śarabhapuriyas, and gold fanams of the Imperial Gaṅgas.

Yuan Chwang, writing on Orissa in his memoirs, mentions the use of cowrie shells as a currency by the people[82]. This is supported by the Algum inscription of Coḍagaṅgadeva which refers to *Curṇi*[83] or one hundred cowric shells[84] as a unit of currency. The cowries were also transacted in business in the later medieval period[85].

The designation, *Lavaṇakarādhikāri* or the Superintendent of taxes on salt deposits, found in a stone inscription at Mukhalingan[86] of the reign of Vikrama Gaṅga (Coḍagaṅgadeva), suggests the collection of duties on salt. Similarly, other articles of trade were also subject to taxation probably at the time of their arrival in the market.

Certain amount of the inland trade passed along land route. It is known from the itinerary of Yuan Chwang that the kingdoms of Orissa : Oḍra (Wu-tu), Koṅgoda (Kung-yu-to), Kaliṅga (Ka-leng-ka) and South Kosala (Kaio-so-lo), and their respective capitals were connected by the land route[87]. Although nothing is konwn about the routes of Orissa in this period, it can be inferred from contemporary political events that the movement of troops might have opened up many routes connecting kingdoms and their administrative units. These routes must have commanded the inland trade traffic with some important centres of trade probably serving as main links. Besides, the roads mentioned in our land grants as boundaries of the donated lands, also served the purposes of trade.

Yuan Chwang, in his description of Koṅgoda, mentions that the country, 'produced large dark coloured elephants which were capable of long jonrneys[88]. This suggests the use of elephants in the land route as a means of transport for trade and other purposes. A sculptured panel showing some elephants dragging boulders in the Konarak temple bears out this fact. The use of bullocks, buffaloes, and asses in the inland transport is brought out by a later Gaṅga inscription[89] of our period and the existence of the bullock cart is proved by a sculpture[90] preserved in the Orissa Museum. Besides, reference to horses in some inscriptions[91] and portrayal of warriors on horseback in some sculptures[92] suggest their use for conveyance purposes.

But the chief routes of inland trade were the waterways of river Mahanadi, Vaitarani, Tel, and Vamsadhara, in proximity to which stood important

town like Suvarṇapura[93], Yayātinagara[94], Guhadevapāṭaka or Guheśvarapāṭaka or Virajā[95], and Kaliṅganagara[96]. The use of boats and ferries in river transport is proved by references to ferry places (*naditarasthāna*[97]) in our epigraphic records and by some sculptural representations of boats[98].

That the elephants of Orissa were in great demand in the neighbouring states is revealed by Yuan Chwang's account.[99] It is known from the early Indian literature[100] that Orissa was famous for her elephants. This would suggest that the elephants of Orissa were an important commodity in her inter-state trade by the land and river routes.

The *Manosallāsa*, which lists Kaliṅga among the states well known for their textiles,[101] suggests the use of Kaliṅgan clothes in other parts of India. This would lead us to suggest that clothes woven in Kaliṅga were sold in different parts of India by Kaliṅgan merchants. Likewise, swords manufactured in Orissa were carried to the neighbouring states for sale as is evidenced by the *Yuktikalpataru*.[102]

NOTES :

1. S. N. Rajguru (ed.), *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, (Bhubaneswar, 1960), p. 176, 11.15-16.
2. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, (Delhi, 1966), p. 360
3. Rajguru, *op. cit*, pp. 174-180.
4. Rajguru (ed), *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, i, (Bhubaneswar, 1960), pp. 8, 13 2, 138, 154, 178, 209.
5. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. II, pp. 235; Vol. IV, (Bhubaneswar, 1966), pp. 120, 130, 132, 327; S. Tripathy (ed.) *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. VI, (Bhubaneswar, 1974), pp. 69, 75, 82, 90, 96, 103, 123, 158, 213, 218.
6. Rajguru (ed), *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, ii, (Bhubaneswar, 1958), pp. 169, 175; *op. cit*, Vol. II, 218-219, 11. 21-22; *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, p. 41.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 162, 267; *op. cit*, Vol. III, ii, pp. 323, 329, 292, 316; *op. cit*, Vol. V, i, p. 6.
8. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, 8, 99, 100; *op. cit*, Vol. II, 284, 300.
9. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. IV, pp. 130, 136.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-137.
11. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, p. 198.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.
13. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol I, pp. 232, 234; *op. cit*, Vol. II, pp. 284, 289; *op. cit*,
14. *Ibid*, pp. 266, 300.
15. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. IV, pp. 100, 103, 314; Tripathy, *op. cit*, pp. 62, 69, 75, 82, 117, 274.
16. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, p. 10.
17. U. Subudhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, (Calcutta, 1978), p. 104; Tripathy, *op. cit*, p. 21.
18. Subudhi, *op. cit*, pp. 103, 114, 117; Tripathy, *op. cit*, p. 21.
19. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. I, ii, p. 141; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 256.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Sircar, *op. cit*, p. 242.
22. *E.I*, Vol. XXVIII, 256.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. Subudhi, *op. cit*, pp. 103, 114; Tripathy, *op. cit*, p. 21; Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol III, i & ii, pp. 371, 377, 392, 398.
27. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, p. 69.
28. *E.I*, XXVIII, p. 256.
29. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. II, p. 35; *op. cit*, Vol. III, ii, 336, 337.
30. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. I, ii, p. 102
31. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. IV, pp. 170, 174, 176, 181, 195, 204, 209, 253, 263, 280.
32. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, pp. 8, 248.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 231
34. Subudhi, *op. cit*, p. 116
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, p. 69
38. referencees to mangoes are found in some inscriptions of our period.
39. Among the condiments, our records refer to tamarind and the muslim accounts mention green pepper.
40. see. Ref. 13 & 14
41. see. Ref. 15
42. see. Ref. 16
43. see. Ref. 17
44. see. Ref. 18
45. see. Ref. 19
46. see. Ref. 30
47. see. Ref. 20
48. see. Ref. 24

49. see. Ref. 23
50. see. Ref. 22
51. see. Ref. 25
52. see. Ref. 28
53. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, p. 163.
54. *E.I*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 181
55. *Proceedings of the Orissa History Congress*, (Sambalpur, 1978), pp. 35-36
56. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII, i, p. 26
57. Tripathy, *op. cit*, pp. 227, 11. 9-12.
58. *Ibid*, p. 231
59. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chang's Travels in India*, (Delhi, 1961) p. 194
60. *The Journal of Orissan History*, Vol. II, 2, (July, 1981), Vol. pp. 12-15.
61. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, p. 9.
62. Sircar, *op. cit*, p. 207; Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, p. 9
63. *Ibid.*, p. 134; Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, ii, p. 301; Subudhi, *op. cit*, p. 117
64. Sircar, *op. cit*, pp. 5-6
65. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, pp. 63, 169
66. Sircar, *op. cit*, p. 167
67. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, ii, pp. 268, 324, 325
68. Sircar, *op. cit*, pp. 159, 342
69. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, ii, pp. 285, 297, 308, 325, 328, 329, 331
70. Sircar, *op. cit*, p. 268
71. See. Ref. 69
72. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i & ii, pp. 248, 295; *op. cit*, Vol. V, i, pp. 7-II
73. Sircar, *op. cit*, p. 194
74. Rajguru, *op. cit*, III, ii, pp. 328, 331
75. Subudhi, *op. cit*, p. 117
76. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. II, p. 190
77. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. IV, p. 115
78. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, ii, p. 352
79. Kirttirājadeva II was a descendant of the Gaṅga General Banapati, Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, ii, p. 353
80. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. II, p. 223
81. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, p. 186
82. Watters, *op. cit*, pp. 196-197
83. Rajguru, *op. cit*, III, i, p. 186
84. Sircar, *op. cit*, p. 77
85. *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, i, p. 5
86. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. III, i, p. 163
87. Watters, *op. cit*, p. 193 ff.
88. *Ibid*, p. 196
89. *Madras Epigraphical Reports*, no 9, 1918-19
90. K. C. Misra, *The Cult of Jagannatha*, (Calcutta, 1971), pl. 5
91. Rajguru, *op. cit*, Vol. I, ii, pp. 217, 223, 224, 240, 264; Vol. III, i, pp. 46, 47, 52
92. D. Mitra, *Konarak*, (Delhi, 1968) pls. XVIII a & b, XX
93. See Somavaṃśī inscriptions.
94. *Ibid.*
95. Subudhi, *op. cit*, p. 103
96. See Eastern Gaṅga records.
97. Subudhi, *op. cit*, p. 103
98. M. N. Das (ed), *Sidelights on History and Culture of Orissa*, (Cuttack, 1977), p. 115
99. Watters, *op. cit*, p. 197
100. *Mahābhārata*, Bhīsma Parva, XVI, 623
101. *Mānasallāsa*, III, 1017-1020
102. *Yuktikalpataru*, V, 24-29

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A MINOR SHRINE EXPOSED IN THE COMPOUND OF YAMEŚVARA

B. Bandyopadhyay

The existence of a minor shrine, buried in earth with the upper part of *gaṇḍi* visible and located in the south-eastern corner of the compound of the Yameśvara temple, has drawn the attention of scholars on Orissan architecture for a quite long time. Debala Mitra in her *Bhubaneswar* guide book has observed[1], "In the south-east corner of the enclosure is visible the upper part of a small *triratha* shrine of the Parasuramesvara type, buried under the earth". K. C. Panigrahi has also seen this temple and has remarked in his *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*[2], "To the west of the Liṅgarāja temple and on the road to Khandagiri are to be found the remains of an earlier temple in the south-east corner of the enclosure of the Yameśvara temple. They consist of parts of an early *śikhara* temple and are visible from under the debris of a laterite building which seems to have served as the kitchen and store house of the present temple. Sculptured all over with Chaitya arches and lotus medallions as we find in the early temples, the antiquity of these fragmentary remains is beyond doubt". From the exposed part of the temple it was understandable that the temple is a *triratha* one and its simple and sparse ornamentation, the figure of a goddess in low relief in a medallion etc, point to its early date.

The work of exposing the temple from the debris was taken in the middle of June, 1982. The main purpose was to expose the temple fully to determine its architectural importance and review the possibilities of its being a product of the early period of Orissan architecture. For that work an area of 3m. from north to south and 3m. from east to west was taken up on two sides i. e. west and north of the temple. The present pavement of the main temple consisting of laterite blocks in two courses was to be removed. It was found that below this pavement there was earth filling and the laying of this pavement and this earth filling have been done in comparatively recent years possibly by the P. W. D. and this conclusion has further been strengthened when it was observed that the entrance of the temple is closed by sandstone blocks with the help of cement mortar (fig. 15). After exposing the north and west sides of the temple the other sides i. e. south and east were also exposed and in this part the laterite blocks of an apparently late structure, being a *maṇḍapa* or so, were to be removed as they leaned against the temple.

On being fully exposed the temple has offered its full view (fig. 16). It is a miniature shrine made of sandstone, the height from base is 2·65m. and it is a square temple, 1·45m. in dimension. The *bāḍa* of 1·20m. high rises from the pavement, and it has three divisions i. e. *pābhāga* with three mouldings, the top most of which is decorated with *caitya* windows; *jaṅghā* which is unornamental having projections, *baraṇḍa* consisting of projected mouldings decorated with scroll work, *caitya* windows and floral motifs. On the eastern side,

in a recess on the *baranḍa* is a badly mutilated figure carved in relief (fig. 17). The figure has a fierce looking face and is wearing a *jaṭājaṭa*. An *upavita* (?) passes through left shoulder. The arms and lower part below the belly are broken. There are two figures bearing garlands in a flying pose on his two sides. Presumably this is the figure of a Bhairava. The *gaṇḍi* of 1·45m. high is having three *pagas* or projections. The *kaṇika-pāga* is having five divisions vertically with one *bhumi āmalaka*. The *rāhā pāga* on the front i. e. north side is more projected and on it in a medallion marked by dots, geometrical and floral motifs is a figure in relief of goddess Lakṣmī standing in *samapāda*. She is holding in her left arm a pitcher full of its contents which is possibly nectar and the stalk of a full blown lotus is in her right arm. The figure is profusely ornamented wearing a necklace, ear studs and a tiara on the forehead. Her hair is done in a bun-shaped padded chignon, a sari covers the lower part of the body and a bodice is worn as an upper garment. There are two-seated figures of devotees on her two sides. The facial expression is placid and the figure betrays an archaic look. On top of this figure there is a *caitya* arch, the central part of which is decorated with a full blown lotus inside a medallion. On two corners are noticed the faces of *makaras* and the upper part is marked by two peacocks and floral motifs. The other sides of the *pagas* are also embellished with *caitya* arch inside which is placed a full blown lotus. The portion above the *bisuma* is missing. On the north side is the entrance and the sanctum enshrines a *liṅga* on a *paṭṭa* made of sandstone (fig. 18). The temple is not having a *mukhaśālā* which is regarded as an essential component part of an Orissan temple and this departure may be regarded as a special feature of this temple.

The carvings on the temple are simple and exquisite. Among the motifs, *caitya* windows, comprising of dots or beads and inside which are placed full blown lotus medallions, (an early feature) predominate. Besides, there are scroll works and lozenges also. The figures of two divine beings, one apparently of a Bhairava and the other of Lakṣmi speak highly of the workmanship of the sculptors. The carving of the figure of Lakṣmī in low relief inside a medallion which in its physical appearance sculpted in the squattish form, broad eyes, elongated bow-like eye-brows etc. point to an early date.

The temple, though small in dimension bears some unique characteristics and is expected to broaden our knowledge on the early chapter on Orissan architecture. As has been observed it is only 2·65 m. high from the pavement over which it stands, but it is quite proportionate to its size. It is *triratha* on plan and has got all the components of an early *rekhā-deula*. A remarkable feature of the temple is that it has no *mukhaśālā* while it is widely accepted that the existence of a *mukhaśālā* is a basic factor is an Orissan temple[3] It has no *navagraha* lintel also. Moreover, it is a curious feature that though the temple enshrines a *liṅga* the central *pāga* on its front is decorated by the figure of Lakṣmi which normally occurs in case of a temple of Viṣṇu or a Devi. But the existence of the figure of a Bhairava on a recess in the *baranḍa* on the east is also to be noted. There is no inscriptional or other evidence to determine its date and it has to be determined only on the basis of an analysis of the architectural features and sculptural ornamentations, As has been previously stated, the temple has often been compared with the Paraśurāmeśvara temple which has been dated to the 7th century A. D. on the basis of inscriptional evidence[4]. It may be recalled that the beginning of the Nāgara style of temple architecture occurred in the Gupta period and the Orissan school of architecture derived its form from the Gupta prototypes. The extant temples of the Gupta period at Deogarh and Bhitargaon are examples of the early *śikhara* type and in the former the formation of *śikhara* in stone in gradually receding tiers is noticed. This temple (dated in 6th century A.D.) is consisted of a square chamber and surmounted by a curvilinear *śikhara*. The decorative element is predominantly *caitya*-window motif. If we take this temple as a precursor of the Orissan style of architecture it will not be very difficult to place the temple under discussion as a bridge between the Daśāvatāra temple of the 6th century A. D. and the Paraśurāmeśvara of the 7th century A. D. which is definitely an advanced product with its nascent *pañcaratha* plan and

elaborate ornamentation. The ornamentation of the temple under discussion along with the divine figures carved in low relief with essentially some early features in their depiction, such as lotus medallions etc. point to the conclusion that the temple is a product of pre-Paraśurāmeśvara period tentatively of the early 7th century A. D. and this will throw an welcome light on the chapter on the beginning and development of Orissan school of architecture.

The temple has presently been covered by earth until some arrangements are made for drainage of rain water.

NOTES :

1. D Mitra, *Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1961, p. 61

2. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1961, p. 18.

3. V. Dehejia, *Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 33

4. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XV, (1949), pp. 109 ff.

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DEGAON COPPER PLATE GRANT OF THE RĀṢTRAKUṬA KING MUGDHAGONDALADEVA

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A set of copper plates was discovered during early 1978, at Degaon under Tarava block of the district of Bolangir in Orissa, while the foundation of a primary school was being dug. It was acquired for the Orissa. State Museum, Bhubaneswar, in the same year, through the Collector, Bolangir, where it is now preserved.

This set, being edited here for the first time, consists of three plates, each measuring 22 cms lengthwise and 11.9 cms broadwise. A ringhole with a diameter of 1.5 cm is provided in the centre of the left-hand margin of each plate. A copper ring, with a diameter of 10.5. cms and passing through the above holes held the plates together. A circular seal is soldered to the ends of the ring. The diameter of the seal is 4 cms. In the counter-sunk surface of it is found the emblem of a Garuḍa (fig.19) with outstretched wings and beak-nose, carved in low relief. It is in the running posture with its left hand extended to the front as if to catch a snake which is depicted below. The edges of the plates are slightly raised and as such the writings on them have not suffered from any erosion. The plates are on the whole in a fairly good state of preservation The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third plate are left blank whereas the second plate has writings on both the sides.

The script used in this record belongs to the eastern variety of the north Indian alphabet prevalent in Orissa during the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. They resemble the scripts used in the charters of the Somavaṃśī dynasty of Orissa (C. A. D. 882 to 1110)[1]. The letters, engraved in the present records of the Somavaṃśī king Mahābhavagupta I *alias* Janmejaya I[2], issued during his third and eighth regnal years. The Palaeographic peculiarities of these two records as well as the present one are similar as the engraver of all the three records was the same person. The form of subscript ñ in the conjunct *jña* in line 3 and 31 is significant. The numerical symbols for 14 and 3 occur in line 32 of the text. On Palaeographical ground the record under discussion can be assigned to the last the part of the 9th or early part of the 10 th century A. D. Other internal evidences provided by the record also seem to corroborate this date.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written is prose as well as verses. As regards the orthographical peculiarities we find a consonant is generally reduplicated in conjunction with *r* like other early medieval Orissan inscriptions. Influence of local pronounciation is noticed in the spelling of certain words like *Vaiṣṇivi* for *Vaiṣṇavī* (1.40), *s-āmvra* for *s-āmra* (1.26), *tāmvra* for *tāmra* (11.31

and 44). The rules of *sandhi* is neglected in several cases. The *visarga* is also omitted in several cases.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* followed by the word *svasti*. Then a place, probably the capital, the name of which is not mentioned here, is described in prose (ll.1 to 3). Then follow the verses describing the *Māṇḍalika* Śrīmat-Khaḍgaśiva and his son, *Māṇḍalika* Śrīmat-Bālatuṅga (ll.3 to 10). His (Bālatuṅga's) son, apparently the donor of the grant, has been eulogised in lines 10 to 14. It is described next, that the group of feudatories who surrounded Janmejayadeva, could become powerful due to their overlord's strength and favour (ll.14-16). This is followed by the verses describing the exploits of the donor, Mugdhagondaladeva which state that after leaving the place called Śukara-kaṭaka, apparently his capital, he could achieve victories (?) over Kāmarupa, Kāñci, Samataṭa, Madhyadeśa and Kuntala. It is further stated that he was well known for his fame and wealth as a result of the above victories (ll.16-18). In lines 20-21, it is stated in prose, that the donor's family had hailed from Lattalaurapura and by the blessings of the family deity Vaddhāṅkula-bhaṭṭāraka. became the master of the Parakula-maṇḍala. In line 22, we get reference to the gift village Kiraṅkelā located in the district of Telātaṭṭa. Lines 22-27 state the address to different officials, regarding the order in respect of the grant. Details of the donee Bhuvanāga, son of Nārāyaṇa-Dāsa and grandson of Bhavanāga, who hailed from Vakhauḍa and a resident of the village Antaralā, are given next (ll.27 to 30). The donee belonged to the Kauṇḍīnya-gotra and Kāṇva-śākhā. It is mentioned in the record that the gift was made for the increase of spiritual merits of the donor and his parents (l.30). Lines 30 to 33 give us the date of issue of the record as Puṣya, śu. di. 14 and the annual rent for the gift village at *Sobhana-Rupya-Pla*-3. Imprecatory and benedictory verses are followed in lines 33 to 43. We know of the writer of the grant Sāndhivigrahika Ghālāka and the scribe Saṃgrāma, son of Rayaṇā Ojhā at the end of the record (ll.44-45).

The record is important for the study of the history of the Somavaṃśī rule in Orissa for several reasons. As already stated above, we have reference in this charter to the name of Janmejaya. A clue provided in this record helps us in identifying this Janmejaya with Mahābhavagupta I of the Somavaṃśa. The engraver referred to in line 45 is one Saṃgrāma, son of Rayaṇā Ojhā. Two of the charters of Janmejaya I, as already stated above were engraved by Saṃgrāma, son of Rāyaṇa or Rayaṇā Ojhā. Moreover, the style of engraving the letters of these charters including the present one is very much similar to each other. Thus it would appear that the scribe of this record Saṃgrāma, was none other than his namesake found in charters of Janmejaya I. Accordingly, we can safely assume that our record belonged to the reign period of Janmejaya I (c A. D. 882 to 922) of the Somavaṃśa.

As to the importance of this record for the Somavaṃśī rule in Orissa we observe that this is the first record of a feudatory ruler under the first Somavaṃśī king Mahābhavagupta I *alias* Janmejaya I. Secondly, this is the second record. discovered as yet, of a member of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa family in Orissa. Earlier, a record of another Rāṣṭrakuṭa family was discovered from Bargarh in Sambalpur district.[3] The donor of this record was Rāṇaka Paracakraśalya and the date assigned to it is A. D. 1131. This family is also stated to have been migrated from Llāṭalōra or Lattalaura, which has been identified by the learned editor with Lāṭur in the Osmanabad district of Hyderabad, the traditional home of the Rāṣṭrakuṭas of the Deccan. The seal on this charter also contains a Garuḍa emblem but presented in a different manner. Since these two kings of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa family are separated by more than two centuries, it is difficult to link their families with the help of the genealogy recorded in both the charters.

D. C. Sircar, while writing about this family of Orissa, suggests that "these Rāṣṭrakuṭas of Kannaḍa origin may have entered Orissa in the train of eastern expedition led by Cālukyān Vikramāditya VI, some time before the death of his father in A. D. 1068.[4] His suggestion is based on the presence of the Chindaka Nāgas, the Telugu-Coḍas in parts of Orissa and by the establishment sometime in the 11th century, of the Senas, claiming Karṇāṭa descent in Bengal. From his suggestion it would follow that the Rāṣṭrakuṭa family came to Orissa during the

11th century A. D. But our record in question, which, as we have shown above, belongs to the late 9th or early 10th century A. D. clearly disproves Sircar's above suggestion.

Thirdly, the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa[5] reveal that the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king Govinda III (A. D. 793-814) conquered Kosala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Dāhala and Oḍraka. Under Govinda III the Rāṣṭrakuṭas became invincible everywhere and there is little doubt that they also invaded Orissa (Odraka)[6]. According to K. C. Panigrahi[7], this historical fact has been recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri, in a distorted form as the Raktavāhu invasion[8]. The main outline of the story is that in the reign of Subhanadeva when Raktavāhu approached Puri with his army, the king of Orissa fled from the city with the images of Jagannātha and his associates lodged in a cart and reached his western frontier in Sonepur where he burried the images at a place known as Gopāli, and that after a lapse of 146 years, Yavāti Keśari got the images dug out, made new images, built a new temple at Puri and enshrined them there[9].

Panigrahi identifies the adversary of Govinda III in Orissa with Śubhākara I of the Bhauma Kara dynasty (c. A. D. 790)[10]. As per his identification the interval of 146 years fits in with the reigns of Govinda III and Śubhākara I on one hand and Yayāti I on the other. The discovery of the present grant corroborates the above suggestion of K. C. Panigrahi. Thus we can safely assume that the Rāṣṭrakuṭa family of Orissa, known from their two records, came to Orissa during the invasion by Govinda III, probably in the early 9th century A. D. Thus the discovery of this new record helps in corroborating the historical trditions recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji* and thereby helps us in fixing the chronology of the Bhauma Kara and the Somavaṃśi dynasties of Orissa. It can also be pointed out here that the *Mādalā Pāñji* cannot be altogether ignored as scholars tend to do sometime, as a traditional work, not worthy as a source for reconstructing the ancient history of Orissa.

Fourthly, we find a different scribe employed by Janmejaya I to engrave his charters after his 8th regnal year. It is interesting to note that, Saṃgrāma, the engraver, who also engraved the records of Janmejaya I's 3rd and 8th regnal years was employed by his feudatory Mugdhagondaladeva to engrave the present grant. It can be assumed that Saṃgrāma joined the service under Mugdhagondaladeva after the 8th regnal year of Janmejaya I. As such our record can be safely assigned to a date later than Janmejaya I's 8th regnal year, corresponding to c. A. D. 890.

Another important factor about this charter is that it reveals interesting facts about the revenue system of the period being a *Kara-śāsana* (rent-paying charter). In lines 32-33, the revenue for the donated village has been fixed at *Sobhana-Rupya-Pla* 3 per annum, i. e., silver coin known as *Sobhana* weighing 3 palas. Since no coin of this period have been found so far, it is difficult to speculate about the currency system of the period. This record also furnishes us with some new informations about the administrative system of the time. It refers to various officials, which we come to know for the first time, such as Grāmabhujodhikāri (village head-man), Ghaṭapāla (officer-in-charge of the ferries), Bhogi-Gaṇḍā (officer-in-charge of or the leader of of the Gaṇḍā tribe). From the list of privileges, which were transferred to the donee along with the village, we find the word *Pāṣāṇa* which possibly indicated the right of leasing out stone quaries.

Lastly, the *viṣaya* or the district named Telātaṭṭa within which the gift village Kiraṅkelā was situated, seemed to have been named after the river Tel, being located by the side of it. We find the reference to the same Telātaṭṭa *viṣaya* in the Patna Plates of Mahāśivagupta I *alias* Yayāti I issued in his 24th regnal year[12] wherein the village Delāḍeli *grāma*, donated by him, was situated. Its reference is also seen in another charter issued in his 28th regnal year[13], which mentions that the donated village Lutturumā was situated in the above *viṣaya*. It would seem to suggest that the district by the side of the river Tel, which was formerly under the control of a feudatory during the rule of Janmejaya I was brought under the direct control of the cental administration during the rule of his successor Yayāti I.

The village Antaralā, where the donee was a resident, can be identified with the present Antarḍā under the Taravā P. S of Bolangir district

located approximately in 83° 40'N and 20° 42'E and just by the side of the village Degāon, the findspot of the grant. Mugdhagondaladeva is eulogised in this record to have victories over a number of countries. Among these countries Kāmarupa is the modern Assam, Kāñci is same as its namesake near Madras in Tamilnadu, Madhyadeśa is generally identified with the central part of northern India, Samatata is the present Tippera-Noakhali region in modern Bangladesh[14] and Kuntala is now comprised of the North-Kanara district and parts of Mysore. Belgaum and Dharwar[15]. The vague claims made by Mugdhagondaladeva to have conquered all these countries, are mere exaggerations in the royal praśastis composed by his court poet, which have little historical value. The practice of exaggerating the description of kings is not rare in the records of the early medieval period[16].

As to the other place names in the record of our discussion, it was not possible for us to identify them with certainty.

TEXT[17]

First Plate :

1. Siddham[18] [I*] Svasti [I*] Sphurad-gaja-turaṅga-sama (mu)d-gaṭai (tai) ghā[19] [r*] = ddhanika-dhanya-janaiḥ suse-
2. vyata svargga - devendriya - subhoga - sukh - ābhiramyāta (t) sthānāditaḥ prakaṭa-citta-yo-
3. ṭik-ābhidhānāta (t) II Nānā-manojño (a)-matimāna (n) sudakṣo yo vandhu-varggam = prati-kalpa-
4. vṛkṣaḥ [I*] durvvāra-vīra-vara-vairir = śiro[20] vidārāḥ(raḥ) su (sū)khā(rā)ray-āruṇatara su-raṇ-āṅgaṇa-
5. sthaḥ [II*] Śrī-maṅgal-āspada-padām = vipadām = abhu (bhū) miḥ Śrīmat Khaḍgaśiva-Māṇḍa-
6. lika(ko) vabhu (bhū) vaḥ[21] (I*) tasya = iva sunū-malini-kṛt-āri-sphurjat = karāla-karavāla-lalat = ka-
7. r-āgraḥ [II*] Āruḍha-tuṅgasu (ś = ca) turu (ra) ṅga-vala-sed-aṅge Lakṣmīm = vahana(n) II[22] sa-kulajām kula-nā-
8. tha-bhūtaḥ dān-ābhimāna nā[23] (a) ya-vikrama. sat- pratāpaḥ saty-āti-satva-dhṛti-saṃyati-bhu (bhū) tivāsa [ḥ*] [II*]
9. Khyātas=satā [ṃ*] guṇa-gaṇair=ggaṇiko (kā)-mad=ānyo Śrīmad-Bālatuṅga iti Māṇḍalika [ḥ*] kī (ki) lā-
10. sita(t) II (I) asya sutaḥ pravara-bhadra-gajendra-kalpa-vṛkṣaḥ prodaryya-śatru-dalano (n=e) ti vinī-
11. ta-mūrtti [ḥ*] [II*] Ālamva-pivara-karo [=*] ti-sucāru - śūrasad - dāna-santati-sadā - vilasaj= jaya-
12. śrīḥ[24] [I*]

Second Plate ; First Side.

13. Cakreṇa Cakrī gadayā ca Bhīmaḥ sal=lāṅgaleḥ Lāṅgaliko mad=ānyo [I*] capena Pārtha pra-
14. thita-pṛthivyāḥ śastreṇa Śastrā (stā) turagair= atulyaḥ [II*] Śrīmaj = Janmejayadeva - nṛipe satataṃ
15. prasanne sāmanta-cakra-śirasā-paricumvitāṅ (ṃ) ghreḥ [I*] yasya pratāpa-śikhinaḥ prasabhaṃ
16. prataptāḥ prajñā (ḥ*) bhavanti sakalāḥ khalu-maṇḍaleśāḥ [II*] Tyaktvā śīghraṃ Sukara-kaṭakaṃ II[25] Kāma-
17. ru(rū)paṅ = ca gatvā [I*] ndhi (kṣi) ptvā Kāñcim[26] Samataṭam = anuḥ[27] prāpya san = Madhyadeśaṃ [II*] Yasyām=ārjya[28] pra-
18. thita-vibhaḥvā[29] [ḥ*] Kuntalaṃ śodhayitvā [I*] kīrtti-snātvā so - padi - jaladhau - bhāti - lavdh= āmvar = eti [II*]
19. Sa Parama-māheśvara [ḥ*] sam-adhigata-pañca-mahā-śavda [ḥ*] mahārājādhirāja [ḥ*] mātā-
20. pitṛ - pād - ānudhyātaḥ Lattalorapura - vinī (ni) rggataḥ Vaddhāṅkula - bhaṭṭārakasya lavdha-vara-
21. prasādaḥ Rāṣṭrakuṭ - āmala - kula - tilaka [ḥ*] Parakula - maṇḍal - ādhipati [ḥ*] Rāṇakaḥ Śrī-Mugdha-
22. gondala kuśali [I*] Telātaṭṭa - viṣayīya Kiraṅkelā-grāme Mahā-sāmanta-rājanaka-rāja-
23. putrāna (n) viṣayapatī (ti) na (n) grāma-bhuja [=*] dhikāriṇaḥ bhogi - Gaṇḍā - prabhṛtayaḥ janapadānaḥ[30] II[31]

Second Plate; Second Side

24. anyān=api rāja-prasādinaś=cāṭṭa (ṭa)-bhaṭṭa-vallabha-jātīyāna (n) ghaṭa-pāla-daṇḍapāsik-ā-

25. dī (di) na (n) mānayati vodhayati samādiśati ca sarvvataḥ śivam=ih=ānyat[32] viditam=astu bhava-

26. tāḥ (m) grām=oyaṃ cātu [ḥ*] sīmā-pary [y*] nta s-jala-sthal-āraṇya sa-gartt-osara-pāṣāṇaḥ s-āmvra (āmra)-

27. madhuka - padra - sahitenall[33] a-cāṭa - bhaṭṭa-praveśaḥ nidhiś=c=opanidhi-varjitaḥ Vakhauḍa vinī (ni)-

28. rggataḥ Antaralā-vāstavyaḥ[34] Bhaṭṭaputra-Śrī Bhavaṇāgasya sutaḥ Nārāyaṇa-Dāsaḥ asy=ai-

29. va naptyā (ptā) Śrī-Bhuvaṇāgaṃ Kauṇḍīnya-gotra Vasiṣṭha-pravara Mitrāvaruṇa-ānuprava-

30. rāya Ka (Kā) ṇva-śākhāya mātā-pitror=ātmanaś =ca puṇy=ābhivṛddhaye tāmvra (mra)-śāsanī-kṛ-

31. tya pradatto=smābhiḥ yatas=tāmvra (mra)-śāsanāt avalokya asy=ājñā-vidhi (e) yī-bhūya ucit=ānucitaṃ

32. dātavyaṃ (m) [I*] Puṣya śu di 14[35] [I*] asya śāsanasya prati-vārṣika dāne Sobhana-Rupya Pla 3[36] dātavya [II*]

33. Dharmma-ślok=o (ā) nulikhyate [I*] Sva-dattām = para - dattām = vā[37] yo hared = vasundharāḥ[38] [I*] sa viṣṭhyāṃ kṛmi [r*] = bhūtvā

34. pitṛbhiḥ saha pacyatē II Sva-dānāt=phalam= ātyanta[39] para-datt-ānupālane [I*] mā bhūt= phala[40]-śaṅkā vā (va) [ḥ*]

Third Plate; First Side

35. para-datt=eti pārthivāḥ [II*] Sarvva (vvā) n=etāna (n) bhāvinaḥ parthivendrāna (n) bhūyo bhūyo yācatē Rāma-

36. bhadraḥ [I*] sa (sā) mānyo=yāṃ dharmma -setur=nṛpānāṃ kāle kāle pālanīyo bhavadbhiḥ [II*]

37. Hiraṇyam=ekaṃ gām=ekaṃ bhūmi (e) m (r)= appy=arddha [m* =] aṅgulaṃ [I*] hara [n=*] narakam=āyāti yāvad-āhūya (ta)-

38. saṃplava [m*] [II*] Harate hārayate bhūmi manda-vu [d*] dhis=tam-āvṛ-ta [ḥ*] [II*] Sa vaddho vāruṇai pās (ś) ai [ḥ*] tirjja (yya)-

39. [g*] yoniṣu (su) gachati[41] [II*] A (Ā) khe (kṣe) Ptā c=a(ā)na(nu)mantāca tān [y*] =eva narake (ka) [m*] vaset [II*] Agner=apratyaya[42]

40. prathamaḥ(ṃ) [suvarṇaṃ*] bhurvvaṣṇivi[43] yaḥ (yam) kāñcanaṃ gāñ=ca na[44] mahi (hi) ñ=ca dadyā [t*] dat [t*] ās=trayaṃ-nti na bhavaṃ-

41. nti lok-āsphoṣṭayanti pitaraḥ pravarlganti pitamahā [ḥ*] [I*] bhu (bhū) mi-dātā kule jāta sa nas=trātā bha-

42. viṣyati [II*] Bhu (Bhū) mi (m*) yaḥ pratigṛhn (hṇ) āti yaś=c bhu(bhū) - mi [m*] prayacchati [I*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyate (tau) sva-

43. rgge-gāminau [II*] Nyun=ākṣaram=adhik= ākṣaram=vā (ṃ vā) yadi pari-likhitaṃ tat= sarvvam=pramāṇam=iti likhita-

44. ñ=ca [i*] da [ṃ*] tāmvra (mra)-śāsana [ṃ*] Sāndhivigrahi - Ghālāken=eti 11[45] Rayaṇā-Ojhā sutena Saṃgrāmena utki (tkī) rṇṇe)-

45. taṃ[46] tāmvra (mra)-śāsa [na*] m=itiḥ[47] II

NOTES

1. K. C. Panigrahi, *The Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṃśīs of Orissa*, Bhopal, 1961, p. 17.
2. *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95. ff; Vol. VIII, pp. 138-343. ff.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. XXX, pp. 135-140. ff.
4. D. C. Sircar, *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 222.
5. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 253.
6. *HCIP*, vol. IV, p. 7.

7. *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 243-48. ff. *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṃśis of Orissa*, pp. 26-27.

8. A. Stirling, *An Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, pp. 67-68 (reprinted from the original edition of 1822, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904)

9. K. C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṃśis of Orissa*, p. 26.

10. K. C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, pp. 78-79.

11. A tribe known as Gaṇḍā are seen as the inhabitants of the areas around Bolangir and Sambalpur districts till the present days.

12. *JASB*, Vol. I (New Series) (1905), pp. 5-6 and 12-13. ff.

13. *Ibid*, pp. 8-12 & 19-23. ff.

14. D. C. Sircar, *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, p. 151.

15. *Ibid*, p, 188.

16. Cf. the Mahakuta Pillar inscription of Calukyan king Kirtivarmar I (A. D. 566-98) of Badami-*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7; also, the Khajuraho inscription of the Chandella king Dhaṅga (c. A. D. 950-1000)-*EI*, Vol. I. p. 145; also see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 24-30. ff

17. From the original.

18. Expressed by a symbol.

19. The letter *ghā* is superfluous.

20. Read *vairi-śiro*

21. Omit *Visarga*.

22. Punctuation is superfluous.

23. The ā mātrā seems to be engraved very lightly, the scribe seems to have erased it for correction of the word.

24. *Śrīḥ* is written below line 11 at the right end.

25. The daṇḍas are superfluous.

26. *Anusvāra* is superfluous.

27. *Visarga* is superfluous.

28. This was possibly meant for *sāmrājya*

29. *Visarga* is superfluous.

30. Read *janapadān*

31. Punctuation is superfluous.

32. Read *śivam=asmākam c=ānyat*

33. Punctuation is superfluous.

34. *Visarga* is superfluous.

35. Vide G. H. Ojha's *Indian Palaeography* (in Hindi), Plate LXXVI

36. *Ibid.*

37. Read *sva-dattāṃ para-dattāṃ vā*

38. Read *hareta vasundharām*

39. Read *phalam=ānantyaṃ*

40. Read *Mā bhud=aphala*

41. Read *jāyate*

42. Read *Agner=apatyaṃ*

43. Read *bhur=vaiṣṇavī*

44. The *na* is superfluous.

45. After the daṇḍas follow a *visarga* like sign which may be taken as a part of the punctuation.

46. Read *utkīrṇṇam=idaṃ*

47. *Visarga* is superfluous.

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ORISSAN IMAGES OF AṢṬABHUJĀPĪTA MĀRĪCĪ

Thomas E. Donaldson

Sixteen sādhanas in the *Sādhanamālā* describe eight distinct forms of the popular Buddhist deity Mārīcī, an emanation of the Dhyānī Buddha Vairocana, a goddess who has affinities with the Brahmanic Sūrya[1]. She may have one, three, five or six faces while her arms number two, eight, ten or twelve. In the *Mārīcī Maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, on the other hand, she is described as having three facas and six arms and her spiritual sire is Śāśvata or Vairocana[2]. A similar six-armed description is given in the *Dharmakoṣa-saṃgraha* (Ms. No. G, 8055, fol. 44a) where her three faces are coloured white, blue and yellow. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a thousand-petalled lotus and holds arrows, *vajra* and *ankuśa* in her right hands while her left hands hold the bow, a bell and a noose[3].

In her two-armed forms, described in sādhanas Nos. 133 and 141 of the *Sādhanamālā*, she is known as Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī when she holds the bough of an *aśoka* tree in her left hand, the right hand exhibiting *varada*, or as Ārya-Mārīcī when she carries a needle and thread (*sādhana* No.147 earlier portion). There is also a four-armed Aśokakāntātārā form mentioned in the *Dharmakosa-saṃgraha* (fol. 30b) where she is described as yellow in color and holding a bough of the *aśoka* tree and a rosary in two hands while the other two are in *kṛtāñjali-mudrā*[4]. In some two-armed images the right hand may hold a *vajra*, a *caurī* or display *tarjanī* while when riding on a pig the right hand may be in *varada* and the left in *vitarka-mudrā*[5]. Although independent representations of Aśokakāntā Mārīcī are rare, there are several examples from Orissa, including three in miniature *stupas* and one major image at Ratnagiri[6]. In the latter example, appearing in a niche of the exterior wall of Monastery I, Mārīcī stands on a lotus cushion with her right hand extended in *varada* while her raised left hand holds the *aśoka* bough (fig. 24). She is richly ornamented and wears a long lower garment held in place by a girdle of chain-links. She wears a jewelled diadem and her hair is combed straight back and arranged in a ballooning chignon above a cord. The upper half of her halo is framed by lush creepers which serve as a canopy. A flying *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while at the center, on either side, is an emaciated *ṛṣi* holding a water jar. A female attendant stands at the base on either side with the one on the proper right, facing, Mārīcī, holding an offering in her right hand while *aśoka* boughs are draped over her shoulder. The attendant on the left holds a *caurī* over her right shoulder and rests her left hand on a lotus-cushion. The image measures 53 3/4 by 33 1/2 inches and can be dated to the late 8th century.

At Lalitagiri there is an image which possibly represents a four-armed Aśokakāntātārā. She stands in a slightly flexed pose with her front right

hand extended in *varada*. Her left hand, placed at the hip, holds an *aśoka* bough. Her uplifted back hands hold a rosary and a *vajra*. She wears a long lower garment and her chignon is fastened with a diadem. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while an attendant female stands at the base on either side of Mārīcī.

Only one *sādhana* (No. 144) in the *Sādhanamālā* is devoted to the form of the goddess referred to as Mārīcīpicuvā. In this form she has three faces with each said to be a combination of three of the nine rasas, their colours being blue, crystal and yellow (molten gold). She tramples on Prajñā and Upāya and has eight arms. Her first set of hands hold a needle and thread while the other sets hold the *aṅkuśa* and noose: the bow and arrows; and the *vajra* and the *aśoka* flower. These are the standard āyudhas held by other eight-armed forms of Mārīcī. With the needle and thread she sews up the mouth and eyes of the wicked; she strikes their hearts with the *aṅkuśa* and binds them with the *pāśa*: she pierces them with the bow and arrows; with the *vajra* she shatters their heart and the *aśoka* bough is used to sprinkle them with water. She is clad in yellow garments and resides in a mass of rays. The *sādhana* is silent, however, in respect to companion divinities and her pose or chariot[7].

The most popular form of the goddess in Orissan sculpture, as elsewhere in India, is Aṣṭabhujāpita or Saṃkṣipta-Mārīcī. She is either white (*sādhana* No, 134) or yellow (*sādhana* No. 137) in colour, wears red garments, is heavily bejewelled, bears the effigy of Vairocana on the crown and resides within the cavity of a *caitya* (*Caityagarbhasthitā*). The left face, blue in colour, is that of a sow and is terrifying, displaying bare fangs and protruding lips. The right face is red. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a chariot drawn by seven pigs and appears like a virgin in the fullness of youth. She holds the same āyudhas in her eight hands as Mārīcīpicuvā. Below the seven sows is the fierce Rāhu, the ascending node, who devours the sun and moon. Mārīcī is surrounded by four companion goddesses; to the east is Varttāli; to the south is Vadāli; to the west is Varāli; and to the north is Varāhamukhī. According to *sādhana* No. 137 each of the companions have the face of a sow and they are described as follows :

(1) Varttāli who is of red complexion and is in *ālīḍha*. She wears red garments and carries a needle and *vajrāṅkuśa* in her right hands while the left hands have a noose and *aśoka* bough.

(2) Vadāli who is yellow in colour and is in *pratyālīḍha*. She holds a needle and *aśoka* in the right hands while the left hands have a noose and *vajra*.

(3) Varāli who is yellow in colour and is in *ālīḍha*. She holds a *vajra* and a needle in the right hands while the left hands have the noose and the *aśoka*.

(4) Varāhamukhī who has a ruddy complexion, bright like the rising sun, and is in *pratyālīḍha*. She carries the *vajra* and arrows in the right hands while the left hands have the bow and the *aśoka*[8].

In *sādhana* No. 134, where the goddess is referred to as Kalpokta-Mārīcī, only Varttāli has the face of a sow. The companions are described thusly :

(1) Varttāli is red with a sow's face. She holds a needle and *aṅkuśa* in her right hands while the left hands hold a noose and the *aśoka*.

(2) Vadāli, in the form of a young girl (*kumārīrūpiṇī*), is yellow in colour. She wields a *vajra* and needle in her right hands while the left hands have the *aśoka* and noose.

(3) Varāli is of graceful form (*surūpiṇī*) and is white. She holds a *vajra* and a needle in her right hands while her left hands have a noose and the *aśoka*.

(4) Varāhamukhī is of heavenly form *divyarūpiṇī*) and is red. She carries a *vajra* and arrow in her right hands while the left hands hold a bow and the *aśoka*[9].

The only differences in these two forms are the complexion of Mārīcī, the placement of āyudhas in the hands of Vadāli, and the prescription of a sow's face for all of the companions or only for Varttāli. Sādhanas Nos. 142 and 146 describe Mārīcī in an identical fashion but with slight variations in the disposition of the āyudhas of the companion goddesses. *Sādhana* No. 145, on the

other hand, describes a twelve-armed Mārīcī, known as Ubhaya·Varāhānanā mārici, who, unlike the other three-faced forms, has both side faces in the form of a sow. She stands in *ālīḍha* within a *caitya* and both sow faces are red. She tramples under her feet Brahmanical gods such as Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā. No such forms of the goddess have been discovered. Sādhanas Nos. 132 and 135 describe the Daśabhujasita form of Mārīcī, of white color, who has five faces, ten arms and four legs. She rides in a chariot and tramples under her feet the four Hindu gods—India, Śrva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. Below the seven sows are the navagrahas and various diseases and disasters in human shape lying on the ground.

When six-faced and twelve-armed, Mārīcī is invoked under three different names though the descriptions are identical except for minor variations in respect to the āyudhas. According to *sādhana* No. 136 she is Vajradhātvīśvari Mārīcī; *sadhana* Nos. 138, 139, and 140 identify her as Oḍiyāna (Uḍḍiyāna) Mārīcī; while *sadhana* No. 143 designates her only as Mārīcī[10]. The first five faces are red, blue, green, yellow and white respectively while the face on top blue in colour, is that of a sow. In these forms Mārīcī stands in *ālīḍha* in the womb of a *caitya* and presents a terrifying spectacle with protruding tongue, bare fangs, serpent-ornaments, and garments of tiger-skin. Vajradhātviśvari carries in her right hands a sword, *mūṣala*, arrow, *aṅkuśa*, *vajra* and *paraśu* while her left hands have the noose, *kapāla*, *aśoka* bough, severed-head, bow and trident. Uḍḍiyāna has a *cakra* rather than the *aṅkuśa* and a *khaṭvāṅga-kapāla* rather than just a *kapāla*. Vajravetālī, in *sādhana* No. 136, holds a *viśvavajra* rather than the *aṅkuśa* and a noose in lieu of a *kapāla*. [11] According to N. N. Vasu examples of the Uḍḍiyāna and [Daśabhuja] sita forms of Mārīcī have been discovered in the Pancpir sub-division of Mayurbhanj districts in Orissa though he did not describe or illustrate them in his book, intending to publish them in volume two which never came to fruition. [12]

The six-armed Mārīcī described in the *Mārīcī Maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* mentions that she is associated with seven sows representing seven rays of the Sun-god but it does not indicate her āyudhas or whether her left face is that of a sow. [13] There are fifteen small three-headed, six-armed images of Mārīcī in niches of drums or stūpas at Ratnagiri but only three of them depict seven pigs pulling her chariot. [14] In three exampler there are three pigs while in another example there are four pigs. In the other eight examples the chariot is pulled by horses in the manner of Sūrya. In six of the latter the number of horses is seven while in the other two the number is five. In most cases the animals are prancing on their hind legs and radiate like spokes away from the frontally depicted centre animal. Notable exceptions are the examples with three or four pigs where the animals are represented in profile moving either to the right or the left. In three examples there is a seated female charioteer while in several examples Rāhu serves this role. In other cases there is a flower design between the legs of Mārīcī or the area is left blank. In six of the images all three heads of Mārīcī are human while in the remaining examples the left face is that of a sow. She is depicted standing in *pratyālīḍha* on the chariot and holds the *vajra*, needle and arrows in her right hands while the left hands display *tarjanī* or *tarjanī-pāśa* and hold the stringed-bow and the *aśoka* bough. There is but a single image of Aṣṭabhujapīta and a low railing is added at the front of her chariot. In the *stūpa*-images the niche is designed as the womb of a *caitya* and in one example the floor of the chariot has a *viśvapadma* cushion. One of the *stūpa*-images is inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the tenth century. It is thus evident that her iconography is not as yet fully developed and is heavily dependent on that of the Brahmanical Sun-god. Pigs are only just beginning to be associated with her, both in regards to the animals pulling her chariot and her sow face. The overwhelming predominance of her six-armed form suggests that this represents her original form and that the eight-armed form is a latter development.

There are also two images of a seated Mārīcī, with a single head and six arms, a form not described in any canonical texts. Both are in niches of small stūpas. She is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* cushion supported by five pigs in one example and by seven pigs in the other.[15] Her right hands hold a needle, *aṅkuśa* and sword while the left hands have a noose, *aśoka* bough and lotus.

The majority of independent sculptural images, as indicated, are of the Aṣṭabhujapita variety. According to B. Bhattacharyya in some images there is a legless female charioteer instead of Rāhu while in a few cases both the charioteer and Rāhu are present. Whereas the sculptors generally follow the sādhanas faithfully in respect to Mārīci, this is not the case with the four companion goddesses as they sometimes have only two hands. Even in four-armed examples they do not carry the āyudhas specified in the *Sādhanamālā*.[16] In Orissa there are at least eleven of these independent images, five of which have been illustrated by N. K. Sahu,[17] with all of them having eight arms except for two from Udalā which have four and six arms respectively. In five examples Mārīci is depicted emerging from the womb of a *caitya* and in all but one her chariot is drawn by seven sows. Although Rāhu is usually carved on the front of the chariot, generally one of the companion goddesses stands between the legs of Mārīci and serves visually as the charioteer. In some cases the sows awkwardly prance on their hind legs similar to the horses pulling the chariot of Sūrya. The proper left face of Mārīci is that of a sow and in six of the images she is accompanied by the four attendant goddesses. These companion deities generally have the head of a sow to suggest the sculptors are following a prescription similar to *sādhana* No. 137, though in one example they each have three faces in the manner of Mārīci. There is also a rare example at Ajodhyā of an independent image of Varāhamukhi, one of the companion goddesses. All of the images date from the 10th to 12th century with the largest concentration appearing in Mayurbhanj district and the Nilgiri area of Balasore district, with four examples now housed in the Baripada Museum, including two from Udalā and two from Khiching, while the others are at Ajodhyā and Sajanāgarh.[18] An image moved from Kendrapara to the Indian Museum at Calcutta possibly originated from Udayagiri or Lalitagiri while the western-most example, from Sonepur in Bolangir district, is now in the Patna Museum. Images close to Bhubaneswar include one at Garndipañcana and another at Astaraega along the Prāci river. The southern-most example was discovered at Acutrajpur, near Banpur and adjacent to Chilka lake.

Possibly the earliest image, though difficult to date with precision due to accretions of paste and paint which obscure surface details, is the example at Acutrajpur. It is also the lone example were the chariot is being drawn by seven horses rather than pigs, an iconographic feature associating Mārīci with Sūrya and suggesting Brahmanical influence as on the earlier small images at Ratnagiri. Similar examples exist in Bihar and at Salihundam in northern Andhra Pradesh. According to D. C. Bhattacharyya the examples with horses pulling the chariot represent a transitional stage in the iconographic development of Mārīci which derives from a similar solar concept of the Supreme Brahmanical goddess Caṇḍi.[19] Iconographically the image from Salihundam differs from the Acutrajpur example in several important respects. Her major left arm, for example, is not in *tarjanī* in front of the chest but extends out from her body (fig. 25). Unfortunately most of the hands are broken off and the āyudhas are missing. She stands in *pratyālīḍha* in her chariot and is six-armed. Though she has three faces the left face is not that of a sow, it is merely terrifying with open mouth, fangs and protruding tongue- She is flanked at the base on either side by a diminutive attendant seated in *padmāsana*, each two-armed with the right-hand placed in front of the chest (fig. 26). The female charioteer, larger in size, is seated in *lalitāsana* on the front edge of the chariot above a diminutive image of Rāhu. Her right-hand is placed on the thigh while the raised left hand holds a flower. The horses all leap on their hind legs, the front paws held chest high, with the centre one moving straightforward whle the others are depicted in profile moving outward. The image measures 83½ by 51 inches.

In the image from Acutrajpur, Mārīcī stands in *pratyālīḍha* and has three heads with the left face being that of a sow. She is eight-armed and wields the *vajra* in her raised major right hand while the corresponding left hand is placed in front of the chest in *tarjanī-pāśa* with the noose visible next to her sow face. (fig. 28). Her lower set of hands, at the thighs in *ardhacandra*, hold the needle and thread. The third set of hands hold the arrows and stringed-bow while the lowered fourth set carry the *aṅkuśa* and *aśoka* bough. She wears a minimal amount of body ornamentation and each head has a tall crown. A plain halo frames her heads and a lotus rosette is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The charioteer, placed between her feet rather

than at the front edge of the chariot, is mostly obscured by accretions of paste but faint traces suggest she is standing in *pratyālīḍha*. There are no companion divinities. The seven horses, the middle three now missing, prance in a vertical stance on their hind legs with their front paws in front of their chest. Stylistically the horses are closely related to examples on Sūrya images from the late 9th and early 10th century throughout Orissa, as on the Vārāhī temple at Caurāsi (fig. 27). This treatment of the horses, the placement of the lotus rosettes, the sparse body ornamentation of Mārīcī, her rather stiff pose, body proportions, and incipient iconographic program with no companion goddesses, suggest an early 10th century date. The image measures 21½ by 14½ inches.

Other images possibly dating to the early 10th century include the two examples from Udalā and one from Khiching, all in the Baripada Museum. In the four-armed image from Udalā, Mārīcī has three faces with the left that of a sow. She rides in a chariot drawn by seven sows and bears a miniature effigy of Vairocana in her crown. Her major right hand brandishes a *vajra* while the left hand displays *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her back right and left hands hold a pair of arrows and stringed-bow respectively.[20] The six-armed image from Udalā has the same facial arrangement with an effigy of Vairocana in her crown, the coiffure of the side faces merging into the crown rather than having their own crown as on the image from Acutrajpur (fig. 29). She stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a chariot drawn by seven sows. Her major right hand brandishes the *vajra* while the left hand is in *tarjanī-pāśa* The lowest right hand holds two arrows while the middle hand holds a needle. The middle left hand carries a stringed bow while the missing upper hand probably held the *aśoka* bough. Mārīcī is ornately bejeweled and her halo has decorative border. The upper left corner of the back-slab is broken off while the upper right corner is decorated with a *vidyādhara*. There is no charioteer and no companion goddesses. The upper face of the chariot is decorated with lotus petals in the center and a kneeling devotee on either side. The seven pigs are prancing on their hind legs though their stance is not as vertical as in the case of the horses at Acutrajpur. The image measures 17⅓ by 7⅓ inches.

There also are no companion goddesses in the Aṣṭabhujapīta Mārīcī image from Khiching (fig 30). The eight-armed Mārīcī stands in *pratyālīḍha* on her chariot pulled by seven sows. Her major set of hands hold the *vajra* and display *tarjanī-pāśa* while the lower set hold the needle and thread, The third set hold a pair of arrows and the stringed-bow while the fourth set carry the *aṅkuśa* (only the handle intact) and the *aśoka* which flowers near the noose opposite the sow face. Mārīcī is richly ornamented and a third eye is visible on each forehead. A *stūpa* is visible in the centre of her jeweled crown while above the crown is a branching *aśoka* tree. The lightly-etched wide halo probably symbolizes a *caitya*. A Buddhist *dhāraṇī* is inscribed on the left side of the back-slab. The head of Rāhu is carved in the centre of the face of the chariot where he serves as the charioteer. The sows are again prancing on their hind legs but all are facing one direction. A spoked-wheel is at each corner of the chariot. Between the wheel and the sows on each side is a kneeling devotee. The image measures 25¾ by 16 inches.

By the end of the 10th century the iconographic program is expanded with the addition of four companion goddesses and the pigs are no longer prancing like horses. The largest and most impressive image, originally the presiding deity of the collapsed Mārīcī Thākurāṇī temple, is now housed in the modern Khuṭiā temple at Ajodhyā (fig. 33) along with an image of Varāhamukhī and two impressive Bodhisattva images. She has the conventional three faces and stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a chariot drawn by seven sows. Her major right hand, broken at the elbow, is up-lifted and originally held the *vajra*. The major left hand is in *tarjanī* but does not hold the noose. The lowest set of hands, at the thighs in *ardhacandra*, hold a needle and thread with the end of the latter forming a noose. The third set of hands, mostly missing, held arrows and a bow. The fourth set are broken but held an *aṅkuśa* and the *aśoka* bough with part of the latter still attached to the back-slab. Mārīcī is richly ornamented and wears large *pātra*-kuṇḍalas on her centre face. An effigy of Vairocana decorates her tall, jeweled conical crown. Her halo has beaded and floral borders and is ringed with flames. The back-slab behind her back is cut out. On the upper

right edge of the halo is the four-armed, sow-faced Varttāli. She assumes a flying pose with her right leg tucked under her body and the left leg stretched towards Mārīcī (fig. 32). The raised right hand holds a *vajra* while the major left hand is in *tarjanī-pāśa* with the noose visible behind the shoulder. Her lower set of hands, in *ardhacandra* at the thighs, hold a needle and thread while a meandering creeper-like *aśoka* issues from behind her left thigh to flower opposite her left shoulder. The other three companion goddesses stand on the chariot. Vadāli, on the proper right, stands in her prescribed *pratyālīḍha* pose but turns her head back towards Mārīcī. Her major right hand, on the thigh, holds a needle while the raised right hand holds an *aśoka* bough. Her left hands carry a *vajra* and a noose. Varāli stands at the front edge of the chariot, between the legs of Mārīcī, and assumes a similar *pratyālīḍha* pose rather than the prescribed *ālīḍha* pose. Her lower set of hands, at the thighs in *ardhacandra*, hold the needle and thread. Her raised back right hand holds the *vajra* while the major left hand is in *trajanī-pāśa.* An *aśoka* blooms above her left shoulder. Her placement at the front of the chariot, straddling the image of Rāhu, suggests that Mārīcī is moving westward across the sky in the manner of a solar deity. Varāhamukhī, on the left side of the chariot, faces away from Mārīcī, similar to the goddesses of dawn on Sūrya's chariot, and stands in *ālīḍha* rather than the prescribed *pratyālīḍha* pose. She has the *vajra* and arrows in her right hands while her left hands hold the stringed-bow and a noose rather than the *aśoka.* The four companion goddesses, all with a sow's face and four-armed, are in their proper placement and correspond closely to the description in *sādhana* No. 137, the only minor deviations being their respective poses, the manner in which the *aśoka* blooms behind Varttāli, and the noose *in lieu* of the *aśoka* bough held by Varāhamukhī. The top face of the chariot is *pañca-ratha* in design with the face of Rāhu, spreading out like a *kīrtimukha.* in the centre, his hands holding the sun and the moon. The base of the chariot has a *sapta-ratha* design with a sow standing above each facet. The sows trot on all four legs, rather than prancing on their hind legs, but radiate outward like spokes rather than moving straight forward. The sow on the larger centre facet is moving towards the left.[21] A smaller, more conventional, representation of Rāhu appears at the base beneath the centre sow. On the upper edge of the back-slab is inscribed the populrr Buddhist *dhāranī* "Ye dharmā hetu prabhavā .." in characters ascribable to the late 10th century. The image measures 54 by 32 inches.

Placed in front of the Bodhisattva to the left of Mārīcī is the image of Varāhamukhī, mistakenly identified as Varttāli by N. N. Vasu[22] and N. K. Sahu and worshipped as Vārāhī[22] by the local populace. She is four-armed and has the face of a sow (fig. 31). She stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a *viśvapadma* cushion. Her major right hand is raised and holds a *vajra* while the left is in *tarjanī-pāśa.* Her back right and left hands hold a pair of arrow and a stringed-bow respectively. Iconographically her āyudhas thus correspond to the four-armed Mārīcī from Udalā. She is richly ornamented and wears a tall conical headdress crowned by a lotus-finial. Ribbons and floral rosettes appear above each ear. A flying *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. As in the case of the Mārīcī and the Bodhisattvas, the image is cloaked with modern garments so that details are mostly covered up. The image measures 30 by 13 inches and can likewise be dated to the late 10th century.

By the beginning of the 11th century Mārīcī is plaeed in the womb of a *caitya* as prescribed in the sādhanas. One of the earliest examples of this appears on the fragment from Khiching now in the Baripada Museum.[23] She has three heads with the left one being that of[28] a sow. Her major right hand is raised and holds the *vajra* while the left one displays *tarjanī-pāśa.* The remaining right hands are missing while the other two intact left hands hold the stringed-bow and *aśoka* bough. The missing hands probably held the conventionl āyudhas. An effigy of Vairocana is visible on her crown. A companion goddess stands in *pratyālīḍha* in front of the crowning members of the *caitya* above the head of Mārīcī. She is four-armed but I cannot tell if she has the head of a sow. Her major right hand is raised and holds a *vajra* while the other right hand holds the arrows. The back left hand has a stringed-bow while the major hand is in *tarjanī-pāśa.* Although the weapons described are those of Varāhamukhī, the only companion prescribed a bow and arrows, she should appear at the lower left in the chariot. It is thus obvious that the sculptor is not following precisely the

descriptions in the *Sādhanamālā*. Considering the lower half of the image with the other three companion goddesses is missing, it is not possible to identify this single survivor on the basis of her āyudhas. In respect to placement it should represent Varttāli.

This deviation from the prescribed iconography of the companion goddesses is also evident on an image in the Indian Museum at Calcutta which was one of several works presented to the museum by R. Chanda. These images apparently were removed from Lalitagiri and Udayagiri in the late 19th century by the local zamindar at Kendrapara who was proprietor of Udayagiri.[24] Mārīcī stands in *pratyālīḍha* on her chariot which is now provided with a low railing at the front edge (fig. 34). Her major right hand, mostly missing, held the *vajra* while the left hand is in *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her lower set of hands, at the thighs in *ardhacandra*, hold the needle and thread. The other right hands are broken off though traces of the arrows and *aṅkuśa* are visible. The remaining right hands hold the stringed-bow and *aśoka* flower, the latter appearing more like a mango blossom. She is richly ornamented and wears a tall, conical jeweled crown. Above the crown, on the front edge of the *caitya*, is an effigy of Vairocana. Three companion goddesses are intact, the one on the proper right now missing, and they are all identical in respect to iconographic details. Each has three heads, the face on the left being that of a sow, and stand in *pratyālīḍha*, The right hands hold a *vajra* and arrows while the left hands are in *tarjanī* and hold a stringed-bow, the same āyudhas held by the lone surviving companion on the fragmented image form Khiching. These companion goddesses are thus conceived as miniature replicas of the major deity, with only four rather than eight arms, and are obviously patterned after Brahmanical images, such as Pārvatī or standing Vārāhī, where attendant figures are miniature, but abbreviated, duplicates of the deity. Varttāli is placed at the top, in front of the crowning members of the *caitya* as on the Khiching fragment, Varāli is inserted between two railing posts and serves as the charioteer while Varāhamukhī appears on the left above the railing. The seven sows are moving forward in a radiating manner, as at Ajodhyā, though the centre one is now facing straight forward. A small image of Rāhu is visible above the centre sow, beneath the feet of Varāli, while a seated devotee appears at the lower corners of the pedestal beneath the sows. The image measures 44 by 23 inches and probably dates to the early 11th century.

A slightly different placement of these companion goddesses appears on three other images where Varttāli and Vadāli appear on the upper left and right corners of the back-slab respectively. The first example is a small detached image placed in the *jagamohana* of the Budhanātha Śiva temple at Gareḍipañcana (fig. 35). Mārīcī stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a chariot emerging from the womb of a *caitya*. The floor of the chariot is covered with a *viśvapadma* cushion. She wields the standard āyudhas in her eight hands though the hand holding the *aśoka* is lowered so that the flower is placed below the stringed-bow rather than above it. She is richly ornamented and each of her heads is provided a crown with an effigy of Vairocana appearing among the jewels of the centre one. Although all of the companion goddesses are depicted in *pratyālīḍha* they appear to hold their respective āyudhas. Varāli stands between the legs of Mārīcī but at the back of the chariot. Her right hands hold a *vajra* and needle while the left hands are in *tarjanī-pāśa* and hold the *aśoka* bough. Varāhmukhī holds her standard āyudhas but is depicted dispensing an arrow from the bow in the manner of Uṣā and Pratyūṣā on the chariot of Sūrya. A kneeling devotee is added on the proper right side of the chariot and thus occupies the position of Vadāli on earlier images, the latter goddess now shifted to the upper corner of the back-slab. Rāhu, serving as the charioteer, is placed on the face of the *viśvapadma* above the centre sow. The three sows on either side of the centre one are moving outward rather than forward while the centre one prances on his hind legs, the front paws uplifted, in an archaizing manner reminescent of the horse-like depictions on earlier images. The image measures 12 by 7 inches and probably dates to the early 11th century.

In the detached image at Astranga lying on its back on a brick mound under an *aswattha* tree, the back-slab is shaped as a *caitya* so that the images of Varttāli and Vadāli are placed within

the *caitya* (fig. 36). Mārīcī assumes the conventional *pratyālīḍha* pose and holds the standard āyudhas in her eight hands, the *aśoka* bough appearing above the stringed-bow. A low railing is added at the front of the chariot. Mārīcī is richly ornamented and wears a diadem at the base of her tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. Her exquisite facial features, including warm smile and sharply pointed nose, are similar to examples appearing on the Brahmeśvara temple. All four companion figures assume a *pratyālīḍha* pose and deviate slightly from *sādhana* prescriptions as Varttāli, Vadāli and Varāhamukhī each have their lower set of hands at the thigh in *ardhacandra* to indicate they are holding a needle and thread. Varāhamukhī is again dispensing arrows from the bow. Varāli, slightly larger in size, is inserted between railing posts while a diminutive Rāhu is by her feet. She wields the *vajra* in her raised right hand while the left is in *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her lower right hand holds the needle while the left hand has the *aśoka* bough. A small image now lodged next to the *aśoka* held by Mārīcī possibly represents a devotee which was placed originally at the lower right. The sows are all represented moving straight forward rather than radiating outward as on earlier images. A larger image of Rāhu, holding the sun and the moon in his hands, is placed beneath the centre sow. The image measures 26 by 18 inches and can be dated to the second half of the 11th century.

In the badly-worn image from Sonepur, now in the Patna Museum, the chariot has a similar low railing and the sows are again flush in alignment as they move straight forward. Mārīcī is eight-armed and holds the conventional āyudhas though several of her arms are broken.[25] The four companion goddesses are each in *pratyālīḍha* but their iconography in respect to āyudhas deviates from other Orissan images as possibly does their placement. The image on the left of the chariot. Varāhamukhī on all other examples containing four companions, holds the needle and thead in her major hands while the uplifted left hand holds the *aśoka* bough. She thus does not carry the bow and arrows, the distinctive āyudhas of Varāhamukhī The goddess at the upper left corner, Varttāli on other images, and the charioteer standing between railing posts, both carry the bow. The image is too badly worn to date precisely but, in respect to iconographic features, it can prabably be assigned to the late 11th or the early 12th century.

In summary, the earliest images of Mārīcī riding in her chariot appear in small drum slabs and stūpas at Ratnagiri and betray strong Brahmanical influence. Mārīcī has three heads but only about half of the images display a sow-face to suggest that her association with pigs is in its incipiency. This is also true in respect to the animals pulling her chariot as in eight of the sixteen images the animals are horses rather than pigs. The number of animals is also not standardized as some have only three, one has four, and two have five, though the largest number (seven) have seven as in the case of most Sūrya images. The centre animal is generally depicted frontally while those on either side are in profile and moving out-ward as on the chariot of Sūrya. They likewise prance on their hind legs, even the pigs, with their front paws uplifted. In three of the images a female charioteer is seated at the front of the chariot in the manner of Aruṇa. In other cases Rāhu is the charioteer or there is simply a lotus design. Mārīcī stands is *pratyālīḍha* and, except for a single eight-armed image, has six arms to suggest that this is her original form. The iconographic program is abbreviated as there are no companion goddesses and only in the eight-armed image is a railing added to the chariot.

Although only one of the larger independent images which emarge in the 10th century displays horses pulling the chariot, Brahmanical influence is sill evident in the manner in which the pigs prance on their hind legs, appearing almost to stand erect as on 10th century Sūrya images. The number is standardized at seven, however and by the end of the 10th century they are trotting on all four legs in a more realistic way. By the second half of the 11th century the sows are finally aligned so that their legs are flush with each other and they move straight forward rather than radiating out like spokes from the centre as horses do when pulling the chariot of Sūrya. The motif of a seated charioteer is eliminated as either Rāhu or one of the companion goddesses (Varāli) assumes this role. For the most part, however, the image of Rāhu appears decorative or symbolic rather

than functional. Although two of the earliest images have four and six arms respectively, by the end of the 10th century the number becomes standardized at eight. Companion goddesses are also introduced towards the end of the 10th century as the iconographic progam becomes expanded. By the 11th century a *caitya* is added to the back-slab to serve as a frame for Mārīcī.

Whereas the iconography of Mārīcī changes very little, suggesting the sculptors were adhering closely to textual prescriptions, subtle variations appear in the four companion goddesses and in no case do they follow precisely the iconography prescribed in the *Sādhanamālā*. In most cases, however, they have the face of a sow as described in *sādhana* No. 137. In the earliest appearances of these four deities Varttāli is depicted at the top of the back-slab while the other three are placed in the chariot. In later examples, however, both Varttāli and Vadāli appear at the top. Varāli, the goddess of the west, always stands between the legs of Mārīcī, straddling the image of Rāhu, to suggest that Mārīcī is moving westward through the sky in the manner of a solar deity. This symbolism is reinforced by the image of Rāhu, the ascending node chasing after the sun and moon, who appears more like a *kīrtimukha* emblem decorating the prow of the chariot than the actual charioteer. The most notable deviations are associated with Varāhamukhī who, on early images and even in the unique independent image, holds a noose in one of her left hands rather than the prescribed *aśoka* flower. On later images, when dispensing arrows in the manner of Uṣā and Pratyūṣā, her lower hands are at the thighs in *ardhacandra* to suggest she is holding a needle and thread. Except for their initial appearance on the image at Ajodhyā, where only two of the goddesses are in *pratyālīḍha*, by the 11th century they all assume this pose, possibly influenced by Brahmanical traditions where attendant figures often mimic the pose of the deity. This influence is even more pronounced on the image in the Indian Museum at Calcutta where each companion is iconographically identical, each having three heads and carrying a bow and arrows, and appear like diminutive but abbreviated duplicates of Mārīcī in the manner of attendants on Brahmanical deities such as Pārvatī. On later examples the companion goddesses adhere less strictly to textual descriptions and gradually lose their identifying characteristics, except for Varāhamukhī when dispensing arrows, and appear nearly identical. In some cases the ayudhas appear indiscriminately distributed as two or more of the goddesses hold the bow and arrows. In the latest described example even the placement of the goddesses appears to deviate from earlier conventions.

In respect to the āyudhas, it does not appear that the *vajrāṅkuśa* prescribed for Varttāli in *sādhana* no 137 was utilized in any of the images. The *vajra*, in respect to Mārīcī as well as the companions, is a standard *vajra* in all cases. In the six-armed images of Mārīcī, the *aṅkuśa* is eliminated while the noose (*pāśa*) and the thread (*sūtra*) are generally combined to form a single *āyudha* as on the eightarmed image from Ajodhyā where the major left hand is merely held in *tarjanī* without the noose. In some of the small six-armed images from Ratnagiri it is not possible to tell if this left hand is in *tarjanī* or *tarjanī-pāśa*. On the four-armed image of Mārīcī, as well as on the independant image of Varāhamukhī, the needle and the *aśoka* bough are eliminated. The *aśoka* bough, as indicated, is not associated with Varāhamukhī, being replaced with a noose, while on images where she is dispensing arrows the *vajra* and noose are replaced by the needle (*sūcī*) and thread. The *aśoka* bough receives the most varied treatment of all of the āyudhas and may appear as branches, as a stalk crowned by a ball-shaped cluster of flowers similar to a mango, or as a lotus-like flower blooming near the top of meandering creepers. In a few cases this creeper issues from behind a companion goddess as a decorative motif, not being one of the prescribed āyudhas. In one example from Khiching it branches as a tree above the head of Mārīcī.

The early six-armed images of Mārīcī, as indicated, are frequently associated with horses and, often having only human heads, conform to no known iconographic sources. The earliest eight-armed images, having an abbreviated iconographic program with no accompanying goddesses, likewise conform to no known textual descriptions. The mature iconographic program, with the companion goddesses having the head of a sow, conform

most closely to *sādhana* No. 137 of the *Sādhanamālā* though deviating slightly, particularly in respect to the āyudhas of Varāhamukhī. In that all of the Orissan images are earlier in date than the earliest copies of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (A. D. 1130), and the *Sādhanamālā* (A. D. 1165), it is likely they are based on similar but earlier iconographic texts which are now lost or as yet unpublished.

NOTES :

1. In Tibet, for example, her title is "Goddess of the Dawn" and she is invoked by the Lamas at sunrise. See also S. K. Sarawati, *Tantrayana Art, An Album* (Calcutta, 1977), p. xli.
2. *Niṣpannayogāvali* of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta, ed. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (Baroda, 1949), pp. 52-53.
3. Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources* (New Delhi, 1974), p. 34.
4. *Ibid*., p. 32.
5. Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford, 1928), p. 133.
6. Although Debala Mitra suggests the image possibly represents a river goddess, the ṛṣis are standing in clouds rather than water and in no known examples in Orissa do the river goddesses hold a flower other than a lotus. The addition of ṛṣis and the format of attendants holding offerings and flowers does, however, suggest influence from Brahmanical traditions, influences also noted on other images of Mārīcī.
7. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta, 1968, second edition), pp. 210-11, and S. K. Saraswati, *op. cit*., pp. xlii-xliii.
8. B, Bhattacharyya, *op. cit*., p. 209.
9. S. Saraswati, *op. cit*., pp. xlii-xliii.
10. *Ibid*., p. xlv.
11. B. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit*., p. 214.
12. Nagendranath Vasu, *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja* (Delhi, 1981 reprint of 1911 edition), p. xcv.
13. *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, pp. 52-53.
14. Debala Mitra, *Ratnagiri, MASI No*. 80, Vol I (Delhi, 1981), pls. LIV (a-d), LXXVI (c-d), LXXVII (a-d), LXXVIII (a-b).
15. *Ibid*, pl. LXXVIII (c-d).
16. B. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit*., pp. 211-12.
17. N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa* (Cuttack, 1958), figs. 40, 64, 71, 74, 79.
18. N. N. Vasu (*op. cit*., p. xcii) records that the image at Sajanāgarh is similar to the example at Ajodhyā but he does not illustrate it.
19. Dipak C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 21. For a photograph of the image from Bihar see Fig. 7.
20. N. K. Sahu, *op. cit*., p. 222.
21. N. K. Sahu mistakenly counts eight rather than seven pigs.
22. N. N. Vasu, *op. cit*., P. xcv, and fig. 50.
23. For a photograph see Arjun Joshi, *History & Culture of Khijjingakotta under the Bhanjas* (Delhi, 1983), fig. 51.
24. Ramaprasad Chanda, "Exploration in Orissa", *MASI*, No. 44 (1930), p. 13.
25. See Dipak C. Bhattacharyya, *Iconology of Composite Images* (Delhi, 1990), fig. 26.

NOTES AND COMMENTS :

(i) A LITTLE KNOWN TEMPLE NEAR KONARAK

K. S. Behera

For more than seven hundred years since its construction, Konarak has preserved the artistic heritage of a bygone age. Today, even in ruins, it attracts visitors and admirers of art from all parts of the world. The erection of a grand temple at this lonely place has been a subject of much speculation. To help the understanding of the temple in a wider context we briefly discuss the important archaeological remains near Konarak, especially the temple of Trīveṇīśvara, which is located at a distance of about two kilometres to the north-west of the temple.

The traditional *kṣetra* of Konarak was not confined to the temple alone but embraced the surrounding areas. The *Koṇārka Kṣetra Māhātmya*[1] declares that this famous *kṣetra* was five *krośa* in extent. The *Brahma purāṇa*[2] also asserts that the *kṣetra*, sacred to the thousand-rayed Sun God called Koṇāditya, extends one *yojana*. No inscription or sculpture has yet been discovered at Konarak to throw light on the early history of the place. The Greek geographer PTolemy (2nd century A. D.) mentions "Kannagara" which evidently stands for Konarak[3]. The Erbang copper plate of Śambhu Yaśa[4] seems to suggest that in the sixth century A. D. the Konarak area was included in his kingdom. The discovery of copper plates of Bhauma-Kara kings from Terundia[5] and Caurasi[6] suggest their supremacy over the locality. The surrounding area of Konarak came under the influence of Buddhism. In the village Baḍatarā (which literally means great Tārā) we find three images representing Tārā, Khaśarpaṇa Lokeśvara and Jambhāla. The image of Tārā can be assigned to 9th-10th centuries A. D. on the basis of the palaeography of the Buddhist formula-*ye dharma hetu prabhava*-inscribed on the backside of the slab. An image of crowned Buddha, seated in *bhumisparśa mudrā* has been discovered at Kuruma, at a distance of 8 kilometres, from Konarak. An image of Māricī has been fixed to a niche of the Rāmacaṇḍi temple. The discovery of these images indicate that the region of Konarak was an important centre of Buddhism during the 8th to 10th centuries A. D.

The so called Chāyādevī or Māyādevī temple[7] located in the south-western side of the enclosure of Konarak temple, seems to be a monument of the later Somavaṃśi period. Its architectural and sculpture style indicate that it was constructed before the main-temple complex of Konarak. The existence of a Sun temple at Konarak prior to the construction of a big temple by Narasiṃha I is known from the literary sources[8]. That it was not the only monument of the place[9] is proved by the temple of Trīveṇīśvara. According to the *Koṇārka Kṣetra Māhātmya*, Aṣṭa-caṇḍi (eight goddesses) and Aṣṭa-śambhū (eight Śivas) were the guardian deities of the *kṣetra*, of these Triveṇīśvara is said to be one of the Aṣṭa-sambhūs, whose shrine exists in the neighbourhood of Konarak. It is situated at a distance of about 2 kilometres to the north-west of Konarak temple in the village Mādhipur. The original temple has been completely restored. A part of the *bāḍa* of the main *deula* still survives to indicate its former glory. The southern and western central niches are occupied by images of Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya respectively. The northern niche contains the image of Pārvatī and a separate modern structure has been built over it. The original *bāḍa* is decorated with Nāga and Nāgi pilasters, female figures and elongated khākharāmuṇḍis with *kalasa* on the top. Of the Dikpālas, Iśāna, seated on a bull, is seen on the north-east corner of the *vimāna*. The scheme of decoration has striking affinities with the Gauri temple at Bhubaneswar and in point of date, these two may be regarded as close contemporaries. The female figures carved in *alto-relivo* and particularly the elongated khākharāmuṇḍis with *kalasa* motif on the top, are similar to those on the Gauri temple at Bhubaneswar.

NOTES :

1. Pañca krośa pramāṇena kṣetra trailokya viśruta/ Āstī tatra svayam Sūryaḥ Sāmbonugraha Kāranāt// *Koṇārka Kṣetra Māhātmya* (unpublished).

2. Kṣetra tatra ravēḥ punyamāstee jagati viśrutam/ Samantat yojanam sāgaram bhūkti mukti pradāyakam// *Brahma Purāṇa*, Chapt. 28.

3. S. N. Majumdar, *Ancient India as described by PTolemy*, P. 70.

4. *OHRJ*, Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 113-122.

5. *E. I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp 211-216.

6. *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292-106.

7. Debala Mitra, *Konarak*, pp. 95-106

8. *JAS*, Vol. III, 1961, pp. 60-61.

9. According to Abu'l-Fadl, the famous chronicler of the time of Akbar, twenty eight temples stood in its vicinity, six before the entrance and twenty two without the enclosure and each had its separate legend. Vide H. S Jarrett and Jadunath Sarkar, *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, pp. 140-41.

(ii) THE CAUṢAṬHI YOGINĪ TEMPLE AT RANIPUR-JHARIAL

Orissa has the distinction of possessing two circular hypaethral Causaṭhi-Yoginī temples, one in western Orissa at Ranipur—Jharial*, and the other near Bhubaneswar at Hirapur. J. D. Beglar visited (Ranipur—Jharial) in 1874-75 and has published a short description of the monuments.[1] The following discussion would show that the Causaṭhi Yoginī temple at Ranipur—Jharial was discovered in 1853 by Sir John Campbell, Agent for the supression of Human sacrifice and female infanticide in Orissa.

Colonel Campbell, in course of his annual tour, left Goderi on January 12, 1853. He marched to Bissam Kataka from which he entered Kalahandi. Then he passed into the Patna Zamindari when he discovered a remarkable Hypaethral temple on the 28th January. On 29th January the Colonel reached "Tirtalgarh" which evidently stands for Titilagarh of present Balangir district. The following is an extract from his journal.

"(Wantarla), 28th January, 1853. Went to see the temple of (————) near Suruda, there and back 22 miles. About 120 temples of from 15 to 40 feet high. × × × × × (Among them) is a circular wall (or enclosure) seventy yards round and twelve feet high, (also) of cut stone, with sixty-five or sixty-nine niches inside, containing (figures of about) sixty goddesses, and in the centre a square open place (or shrine) with a remarkable figure tolerably carved as were all. Many of these figures were, unknown to my people. There was also a large temple of bricks (or brick well constructed) without cement and rapidly going to decay, as were the stone temples (also many of which were) tumbling down × × × × × . On the large temple there is some writing (apparently) in the Devanagari character".[2]

The site is again described by Campbell in 1861 in a narrative printed for private circulation.[3]

"At some distance from a village called Surada may be seen a remarkable collection of pagodas. which I visited, and counted one hundred and twenty of various dimensions. They were built of cut stone, without cement, and most of them are in a state of dilapidation. On the largest temple is some writing in the "Devanagari" character, but now illegible. In the centre of the group of pagodas was a circle two hundred and ten feet in circumference, surrounded by a wall of cut stone twelve feet high, with sixty-five niches on inner side, containing sixty figures of goddesses in a variety of attitudes, and in the centre of the circle,

placed upon a raised platform, sat a remarkable figure, tolerably carved, as were also the others, in stone".

As early as October, 1853 Campbell reported the remarkable discovery to Sir Walter Elliot who published an article on this temple in 1878 in the *Indian Antiquary*.[4] The description given by him tallies with the Cauṣaṭhi Yoginī temple of Ranipur—Jharial in important details and there can be no doubt regarding the identification of this remarkable temple. The figure with "three faces" placed in the centre evidently represents the dancing Siva[5] from the same site. The large brick temple obviously stands for the Indralatha temple.[6] The large stone temple of the place has an inscription of Gagana Śivācārya.[7] Thus the hypaethral temple discovered by Col. Campbell appears to be the same as the Cauṣaṭhi Yogini temple at Ranipur—Jharial.[8]

NOTES :

* Ranipur and Jharial are two adjacent villages in Sindhekela Police Station, approached by road from Titilagarh in Balangir district.

1. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128-132.
2. Walter Elliot, "Notice of a remarkable Hypaethral Temple in the Hill Tracts of Orissa", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, 1878, pp. 19-20.
3. *Ibid*. p. 20; *Narrative by Major General John Campbell, C. B., of operations in the Hill Tracts of Orissa*, London, Hurst and Blackett, 1861, p. 167.
4. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, 1878, p. 19-21
5. Charles Fabri, *History of the Art of Orissa*, Plate. LXXX.
6. *Ibid*, Plate. CLIX.
7. *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. III, No 2, pp. 65-75.
8. For a description of the monuments at Ranipur—Jharial vide N. Senapati, ed., *Orissa District Gazetteers, Balangir*, Cuttack, 1968, pp. 490-492 and the Appendix.

(iii) A NOTE ON RĀGAMĀLĀ PAINTINGS FROM ORISSA

D. N. Pathy

A folder with *Rāgamālā* paintings in Oḍiśī *paṭa* style has been traced out in a private collection in Bhubaneswar which has been subsequently sold to a museum in north India. This is a unique piece of folder which adds substantially to our knowledge of Orissan painting.

This folder contains 28 paintings on both obverse and reverse sides. Each painting is within roughly a square format measuring six inches in width and six and half inches in length separated from the adjoining painting by a narrow border. The paintings form a long panel on

the horizontal axis when unfolded. This has been collected from the village Mathura in the district of Ganjam in Orissa. It was in the possession of a Citrakara family and beleived to have been painted by Raghunath Maharana who is now dead. The son of Raghunath now aged about sixty had migrated to Kalahandi district. This folder is about 100 years old if Raghunath would have painted it when he was 30/40 years old.

This folder is an important find and the paintings reveal a lesser known aspect of Orissan paintings and particularly of *paṭa* paintings. So far published material on Orissan *paṭa* paintings do not emphasise the secular aspects of Oḍiśī *paṭa* which has been rather neglected and overshadowed by the religiousity of the paintings and their connections with the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. No doubt D. P. Ghosh has published a number of paintings on paper in *paṭa* style[1], these *Rāgamālā* paintings in *paṭa* style are completely new.

A number of scholars who have published on Orissan *paṭa* paintings have tried to trace the origin of *paṭa* painting to the cult of Jagannātha and have projected their religious aspects. With the discovery of new materials like *Rāgamālā* paintings, *bandha* citras and painted leather shields other dimensions of *paṭa* paintings have been exposed. These dimensions have helped us to think afresh on the Orissan *paṭa* painting.

This writer in his thesis[2] on Orissan paintings has tried to show that Orissan *paṭa* paintings have mainly three facets which are based on thematic contents. These are *paṭa* paintings as temple art or art of the maṭhas, *paṭa* as court art and *paṭa* paintings from the social context.

This folder can be placed in the category of court art and has been painted by Raghunath in the court or for the court or for the use in the palace of a south Orissan king. This was meant for a presentation either to the king or to one of his courtiers interested in music. Since some of these paintings bear captions of rāgas both in Oriya and Telugu scripts, it is beleived that this has been painted either at Paralakhemundi in Ganjam district or is a copy of an older *paṭa* from south Orissa meant for the King of Athagada. Athagada, an erstwhile princely state, in Ganjam district had a very strong music traditions. The celebrated Oriya poet Kavisūrya Baladeva Rath, whose lyrics are being sung by Oḍiśī singers, used to adorn the court of Athagada. A number of Citrakara families used to live in Athagada who have subsequently shifted to Mathura, a nearby village after the fall of Athagada. The deserted and ruined Citrakara street within the ruined fort of Athagada is a testimony to the prevalance of painting traditions in the court of Athagada in its hey days. Equally and probably more important were the courts of Ghumusara (Present Bhanjanagar), Dharakote and Paralakhemundi which had equally powerful traditions in music and painting. Upendra Bhanja the most renowned kingly poet of Orissa was from Ghumusara. We are in know of a number of folders on *Rāgamālā* paintings. The painting programme of such folders include the paintings on rāgas and erotics. As the folder unfolds the erotics come into the view. One such set of *Rāgamālā* paintings with *bandha* citras was in the collection of Prof. B. D. Mohanty of Bhubaneswar which has been subsequently sold. Such folders generally contain twenty paintings, ten on rāgas and ten on erotics. Another folder is in the collection of a high police official in Orissa. This police officer is married in Paralakhemandi and his wife has brought this painting as dowry presentation.

This tradition of *Rāgaimālā* paintings are not new in Orissa. An illustrated palmleaf manuscript on different rāgas entitled *Rāgacitra* is in the collection of Orissa State Museum. It has thirty six rāgas [3] and scribed and illustrated by Raghunath Prusty of Mundamarai Pentha near Dharakote (Gada) in the district of Ganjam. Similarly thirty six rāgas have been suffixed as appendix to the *Gitagovinda* palmleaf manuscript scribed by Dharanidhara[4]. The find spot of this manuscript is not definitely known. But it is presumed from the style of the illustrations that it might belong to the Puri area. These illustrations do not come closer to the *Rāgamālā* folder as the illustrations of the *Rāgacitra* do. The two rāgas illustrated on the cover page of the journal are also included in the list of rāgas of the *Rāgacitra* palmleaf manusircpts.

NOTES :

1. D. P. Ghosh, *Mediaeval Indian Painting*, Pages. 3-7
2. Dinanath Pathy, The Heritage of Orissan Paintings (in the press)
3. (a) Mālayva, Malhāra, Naṭa, Karṇāṭa, Mālava Pañcama, Toḍi, Varāḍi, Gāndhāra, Hindola, Kuha (Kakubha), Kodava, Dhanaśi, Matasi, Gauḍi, Rādi, Kāmodi, Śrīmadhavadi, Ragni, Vasanta, Deśākṣa, Vaṅgalā, Pada (Paṭṭa) Mañjari, Vetavali, Goṇḍakiri, Dakṣnina Gujjari, Vibhasa, Tankuna, Khambavati, Madhukiri, Salaka (ga) Devakiri, Rāmakiri, Himakiri, Lalita (Nārada), Bhairavī, Motakiri—thirty six rāgas as per the text of *Saṅgīta Dāmodara.*

   (b) Śāvari, Tankara, Kallasika, Ābhiri, Kedāra, Motakiri, Drāviḍi, Deśavarāḍi—eight rāgas as per sage Kalankura in the same *Rāgacitra* manuscript.
4. Mālava, Matara, Kasyapa, Toḍi, Varāḍi, Karṇāṭa, Devakiri, Lalita Hima (kiri), Rāmakiri, Pattamañjari (Pada mañjari), Vetavali, Guṇḍakiri, Gujari, Hemarnci, Tankuna, Khambavati, Madhukari, Naṭya (Naṭa), Kakkubha, Kodava, Gāndhāra, Śrīhindola, Bhairavi, Motakiri, Gauri, Kāmoda, Dhanaśi, Malasika, Gauḍi, Vasanta, Deśakṣa, Vaṅgalā, Mādhava Ragnyi, Mālava.

(iv) ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN ORISSA

Amarendra Nath and B. K. Rath

In some opportune moment the authors of this note jointly explored a few archaeological sites both of protohistoric and of historical interest in Orissa. From this note one may derive the natnre and potentiality of sites reported hitherto. Quite likely this note would arise interest to take up objective oriented exploration. In recent years white painted black and red ware from Asurgarh at Manmunda on the confluence of Tel and Mahanadi, and post fired ochre red painting over black and red ware from Golbai have aroused interest. Largely these two sites may be categorised under proto-historic horizon for single reason that neolithic celts have been reported from these sites. However, for want of a comprehensive archaeological sequence for this part of the country, the sites here have been arranged in alphabetical order.

1. Medieval Remains at Aragarh :

This site of medieval remains is in the Delang P. S. of Pipili Tahasil. In the neighbourhood one may notice habitational mound, temple ruins, loose sculptures, along the right bank of Daya river. On the hill top of Aragarh a flat-roofed enclosure with an entrance has been reported by the earlier explorers. The entrance to the enclosure is embellished with pilasters entwined by nāga kanyas and gajasiṃha motifs quite akin to those available in the *mukhamandapa* of the Meghesvara, Rajarani (Indreśvara) temples at Bhubaneswar, Bateśvara temble at Kantaigarh, and elsewhere. Near the enclosure there are some unfinished cisterns. Besides this, scattered remains of stone railing pillars and sculptures of Tantric Buddhist origin have been noticed, viz. Avalokiteśvara and Tārā with multiple hands holding usual attributes. At one place some railing pillars are noticed in situ. Seemingly, these railing pillars form circle, on plan, around an image of Tārā in the centre. Perhaps, these railing pillars were raised to encircle image(s) of Tantric Buddhist origin. These railing pillars are plain and do not

show any sign to assign a date; however, the sculptures found in the milieu suggest a date to *circa* 11th century A. D.

At the foot of the hill, in the cultivated field, thick sherd of grey and red ware of coarse to medium fabric were picked up. These were scattered in abundance. Grey fired Terracotta bead forms part of the explored antiquities from this site. Thus the pottery finds also suggest a medieval date to remains on the hill top.

2. Rock-cut caves at Gangapahar :

A hillock locally khown as Gangapahar, close to the village Kaya, P. S. Jankia, Tahasil Khurda, possesses some tiny rock- cut caves of ancient times. The site is on the left side of the pitch road connecting N. H. 5 (between Khurda and Tangi) and Golbai Railway station. These rock-cut edifices are consisted of tiny cells open either directly into the verandah or the open space in front. As has been noticed at Udayagiri and Khandagiri these caves are also preferably excavated neer the top of the ledge of the hillock or boulder, with a view to minimise the load over the caves, the rock being of a brittle variety. These cells are austerely plain and so narrow that one cannot even stand or stretch oneself. The cave at the lower ledge to the right of a modern shrine is occupied by a priest of the said shrine. It could not be examined as it was locked. At the upper contour lies a group of tiny cells. Two of them are chiseled back to back having common back wall. On plan an elliptical rock-cut verandah encircles these cells. This complex once had wooden super structure covering the cave and verandah. To substantiate this one may notice post holes at regular intervals at the threshold of elliptical verandah. Rock-cut benches abutting the cells have also been noticed. Such feature is met within early historical caves of western India. However, these cells may be compared with the one seen in Dhauli rocks.

There is a late Oriya inscription engraved over a finished rock surface which refers to the donation made by some Chieftain Nanda Samanta of Golabai, a village in the vicinity.

3. **Proto historic remains at Golabai :**

To reach the site in village Golabai (Khurda subdivision, Puri district) by train one has to get down at the station named after the village on the Khurda Road-Berhampur section, and walk or drive 3 km. upstream along the left bank of a river called Malaguni (also known as Mandagini or Mandakini) a tributary of Daya. The village has jeepable road which connects it with National Highway 5 between Khurda and Tangi.

Though the site finds reference in the most recent publication (entitled *Archaeology of Orissa* by R. P. Mohapatra) with regard to a temple on the river side, but fails to recognise an archaeological mound of magnitude. An out of plumb temple dedicated to Jaleśvara Mahādeva, assigned to circa 11th Century A. D., serves as upper datum line for the site. The temple is of *rekha* order followed by a *jagamohana* has completely been demolished. There are number of loose sculptures seen within the precinct of temple, viz. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Pārvati, Ganeśa and Kārtikeya, etc,

The mound of magnitude has callously been cut across for thoroughfare. It has caused an unrepairable damage to the archaeological wealth, but the cutting of the mound has served as an index to the site. In the upper levels of the cutting across the mound some dry ashlar laterite masonry work can be seen. In the central part of the section three successive floors can be seen—two of them are in mud and one is perhaps of brick-jelly. In this deposit fine to medium fabric red slipped sherds are found embeded. An evidence of suspected mud-brick structure in the lowest level of the cutting needs further examination. Besides number of worked bone pieces, a broken neolithic celt has also been picked up from the lower levels of the cutting. The most important discovery is of a bone piece quite similar to the one found in the excavations at Gufkral (Indian Archaeology 1981-82—A Review—Pl. XIII A).

Amongst the pottery assemblage reference may be made to the black and red ware sherds bearing post fired ochre red painting on the outer profile. The painting has been done against a dark brownish back ground. The motifs met with are one checker pattern and a series of oblique strokes. Like the white painted black and red ware sherds reported by these authors from the Asurgarh at Manmunda (Phulbani) the present pottery find

from the Golabai is unique because their extant in Orissa was not known earlier.

However, at Banahalli (Malur taluqa, Kolar district, Karnataka) such painted sherds have been reported from the Neolithic chalcolithic horizons. Before drawing any conclusion between the two one may have to examine the pottery of these sites. Thereafter the question of finding more sites between these two known extant may arise.

4. Medieval remains at Kurkimundia :

On the right of river Daya an isolated hillock locally known as Kurkimundia has on its peak a siva temple embellished with railing pillars. The site is about 20 kms south-west of Bhubaneswar on Jatni Road. The temple, appears to be built over a mouud, consists of square *garbhagṛha* and circumbulatory platform. It is plain. However, the loose sculptures found within the precincts of temple suggest a medieval date for the railing pillars around the temple. The loose sculptures include images of Mahiṣāsuramardinī and cult deities. The railing pillar remains have nothing special to mention except the elliptical mortise to hold the cross-bar. Whether or not these railing pillars had any coping stone is not known from the available remains. These railing pillar remains may well be compared with the ones found on the Aragarh hills.

Within this railing pillar complex grey and red ware sherds were picked up. These may safely be assigned to medieval period.

5. Early historical remains at Namitigiri :

In course of their exploration in the Budha river valley, a tributary of Baitarani, Sarvashri A. K. Mishra and N. K. Behera of the Geological Survey of India, noticed a cultural deposit at a place called Namitigiri, in the Block and P. S. Jajpur, district Cuttack. Subsequently the site was explored by the authors jointly. The deposit is evidently clear in the section on the right bank of the river. The maximum deposit is about 3 mtrs. in height and it is extended roughly to 100 mts. The deposit consists of grey to blackish clay. A flood deposit of light yellow clay overlies the cultural deposit. The pottery embeded in the section may be grouped broadly under red (with or without slip) and grey (with or without slip) ware. Besides this reasonable number of black and red ware sherds can also be seen. Several fragments of lid of red ware having typical ledge and flanged waist place the site between circa 1st Ceutuary. B. C. to 3rd Ceптuary A. D.

The terracottas picked up from the site include human figures and ornaments. A seated human figure, above waist missing, has his legs stretched. A male bust produced out of single mould is done in low relief. Though his hairs arranged in top knot, allows the side locks to fall on the either side of the shoulders. The face is crude more so because of the broken nose but the ears have *patra-kuṇḍala*. To interpret it as Bodhisattva is not always above doubt. A mother and child torso done in applique technique has ill-proportioned breasts. The child on her left waist may suggest that the mother was a left hander. However, the head of the child is broken. The terracotta is burnt to grey A fluted or grooved cylindrical bead burnt to grey, a broken ear-stud with concentric circles burnt to red, a hobscotch prepared by pressing the clay lump with thumb against a mat background are some of the other important terracottas. A stone pestle also forms part of the finds explored from the site.

BOOK-REVIEW

UDAYAGIRI AND KHANDAGIRI CAVES

Dr. R. P. Mohapatra

D. K. Publications, Delhi, 1981, pp. 290,
Plates 123, Price—Rs. 375/-

Being the first work of the author, who is a Museologist by profession and Archaeologist by training, this work contains good documentation and vivid description of the famous Ist century B. C. Jaina caves near Bhubaneswar in Orissa. This is also the first attempt by any scholar to have a complete study on the caves—their architectural features, sculptural wealth, iconographical details of the Jaina cult deities and their environs. To do justice to the work Dr. Mohapatra further discusses the life and times of Emperor Kharavela, the then social conditions and religious system. While discussing about Kharavela, whose date is still controversial, the author has rightly taken the widely accepted date of Ist century B. C. as the date of the king as well as the early group of caves in Udayagiri hill. The book is further enriched with a discussion on the epigraphic evidences found in the caves. Dr. Mohapatra has further proved his acumen as a professional Museologist as well as a trained Archaeologist by making a detailed documentation of all the existing caves providing with their architectural details and measurement. He makes the chapter on Architecture interesting by discussing the development of early cave architecture in this part of India.

All the above he has classified in ten appropriate chapters with the welcome addition of sketches, line drawings and photographs. The work has been well augmented by a select bibliography of the previous works made on the caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri. Except for some typological and/or printing errors the book has come out nicely with a simple presentable style of English. For the beautiful get up of this book M/s. D. K. Publications, Delhi, deserves thanks. No doubt the book has attracted the attention of the scholarly world being the first of its kind on the early cave architecture of Orissa.

B. K. Rath

JAINA MONUMENTS OF ORISSA

Dr. R. P. Mohapatra

D. K. Publications;
Delhi, 1984, pp. 254, Plates 137,
Price—Rs. 600/-.

As if not satisfied with his first love—Jaina Monuments (Caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri)—the author, Dr. Mohapatra, chooses again the same subject—Jaina Monuments (but this time in a wider context covering the entire State of Orissa) - for his second work. In this second attempt he wins the gratitude of the scholarly world for making a survey and documentation of the Jaina relics found

in the whole of Orissa and taking up a subject which was hitherto known to few and untouched by many.

He divides his work in six chapters and introduces the subject with a discussion about the Jaina religion, its philosophy and philosophers and its development in the first chapter. In the second chapter he tries to trace the history of Jainism in Orissa, right from the earliest times to the sixteenth century A. D., describing the role played by some of the great kings of Orissa e. g. Khāravela and Udyota Keśarideva of the Somavaṃśa who gave patronage to the development of this religion in Orissa. He also makes interesting observations on Kaliṅga Jina, Jainism and its relationship with Jagannātha cult, Nātha cult and Mahimā Dharma and the Sarāka community of Orissa.

In the third chapter he goes about professionaly making a systematic survey and documentation of hundreds of Jaina relics, be it a monument or a stray sculpture, in the whole of Orissa. This chapter actually makes the work worth its cost as it has the details about a monument or sculpture such as its find spot, its exact location and sculptural or architectural detail. But one finds here unavoidable repetitions from his earlier work when the caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri near Bhubaneswar are described.

The same unavoidable repetitions from his earlier work are encountered once again when the author describes the Jaina Architecture, Jaina Art and Iconography in the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters respectively. But this is camouflaged in his able handling of the narrations in a lucid style throughout the work.

No doubt the author has discussed the Jaina art in a painstaking manner by giving details of each sculpture. Besides, he has also given the broad period of development of this Jaina art in Orissa. He has even discussed the iconographic peculiarities of the Jaina images of Orissa which help in the identification of a Jaina sculpture. But it does not help in dating a Jaina image of Orissa. The author is also silent about dating individual Jaina images. At least it was expected from the scholar, who is a thorough scholar on Jainism and Jaina Art in Orissa, that his work will be a guideline in identifying as well as dating a Jaina sculpture in Orissa.

The work is complete in all other aspects with the inclusion of a map of Orissa showing important Jaina sites and 137 plates containing sketches as well as photographs, substantiating the narration in the work. From the narration in the book and the map the author has tried to show that Jaina monuments were concentrated in the hilly tracts of Koraput, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanja districts and the coastal plains of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts. This is really an interesting discovery by Dr. Mohapatra and as promised by him, in the preface to his work, we would very much like to know the reasons for this alongwith the influence of Jainism in the society and culture of Orissa, during the period under study and after in a future work by him.

Again the publisher M/s D. K. Publications has done a good service to the Orissan Studies by bringing out the book in a beautiful way although the cost kept is very high for scholars who might like to possess the book personally.

B . K. Rath

THE TEMPLES OF ORISSA

Dr. Dipak Ranjan Das
Agam Kala Prakashan,
Delhi, 1982 pp. 76+Plates; Rs. 120/-

The monograph brings into discussion five 'inadequately' known temples of western Orissa, viz., the Kośaleśvara at Baidyanath, the Kapileśvara at Charda, and the Someśvara at Ranipur-Jharial in the Balangir district; the Narasiṃhanātha in the Sambalpur district; and the Baḍa-Dadhivāmana at Khariar in the Kalahandi district; and attempts to constitute them into a 'distinct' group on the basis of a study of their mukhaśālās and by bringing out the noticeable developments in their *rekha*-deulas, 'representing significant stages in the evolution of Orissan temple architecture'. It rightly observes that

these five temples, located in the western hinterlands of Orissa, 'claim a position of distinction' in the evolution of Orissan temples which certainly 'did not develop along a unilinear track'.

The discussion on these five temples reveals that originally they were all two-chambered structures having a shrine-room (*deula*) and a *mukhaśālā* each. The shrine-room of the Kośaleśvara temple has long disappeared owing to 'centuries of neglect' while those of Kapileśvara, Someśvara, Narasiṃhanātha, and Baḍa-Dadhivāmana temples are in a somewhat good state of preservation and belong to the *rekha* order of the Orissan variety. But the mukhaśālās, both in plan and in execution, have more links with central Indian maṇḍapas than their counterparts in Orissa. 'In having a row of engaged pillars along the sides, four pillars at the four corners of an elevated platform in the centre and a balconied window projecting from either side,' the mukhaśālās of the Kośaleśvara and Kapileśvara temples maintain basic resemblance with a central Indian *maṇḍapa*. The same plan with a little simplification is repeated in the *mukhaśālā* of the Someśvara where only the central platform is eliminated. In the mukhaśālās of the Narasiṃhanātha and the Baḍe Dadhivāmana temples the central platform and the balconied windows are altogether omitted and this marks a further simplification of the plan and construction of mukhaśālās. In spite of their kinship with central Indian maṇḍapas, the mukhaśālās of the above temples exhibit a 'two-tiered flat roof with the upper tier slightly bumped' in place of the central Indian pyramidal domes. Another area of difference is the balconied window which shows a flat roof in place of the overhanging eaves of the central Indian balustraded windows. The *pābhāga* of these west Orissan mukhaśālās is also in disagreement with its counterparts in central India. All these prompts the learned author to observe that 'type of *mukhaśālā* development in west Orissa' had its inspiration in the central Indian prayer halls.

In working out the chronological sequence of these temples the learned author has justifiably placed the Kośaleśvara and Kapileśvara temples between C. A. D. 875 and 950 on stylistic ground and assigned the Someśvara temple to C. A.D. 1000 on the evidence of the paleography of an inscription found on the door lintel of its sanctum. But the dating of the Narasiṃhanātha temple to C. A. D. 1100 on the basis of its striking resemblance with the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar seems to be quite unconvincing. An inscription found on the southern side of the *mukhaśālā* of the Narasiṃhanātha temple and dated to A. D. 1413 attributes the construction of the temple to king Vaijalla Deva I of the Patna line of the Cauhan dynasty of western Orissa. But the learned author does not take this evidence into consideration and doubtfully rejects it on the basis of Beglar's report that the inscription 'may or may not belong' to the temple. Moreover, while ascertaining the date of the Liṅgarāja temple, the author surprisingly takes in consideration the inscription of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva which records the grant of a village for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the shrine of Kṛttivāsa (Liṅgarāja) and forwards the hypothesis that 'the Liṅgarāja had been constructed by C.A.D. 1115 when Coḍagaṅgadeva was the overlord of the Utkala country.' The date of the Baḍa Dadhivāmana temple is not specified or suggested by any evidence and, hence, the learned author rightly avoids determining its date.

The work treats the subject meticulously well and in its proper perspectiv. All said and done, it is a welcome addition to the history of Orissan temples.

U. K. Subuddhi

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Fig. 4 Wedding Painting, Dola Mandap Sahi, Puri



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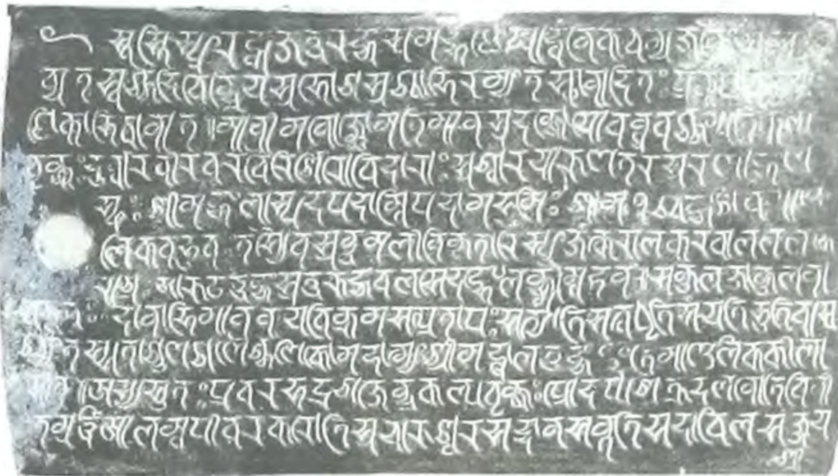


Fig. 20 First Plate, Degaon Copper Plates

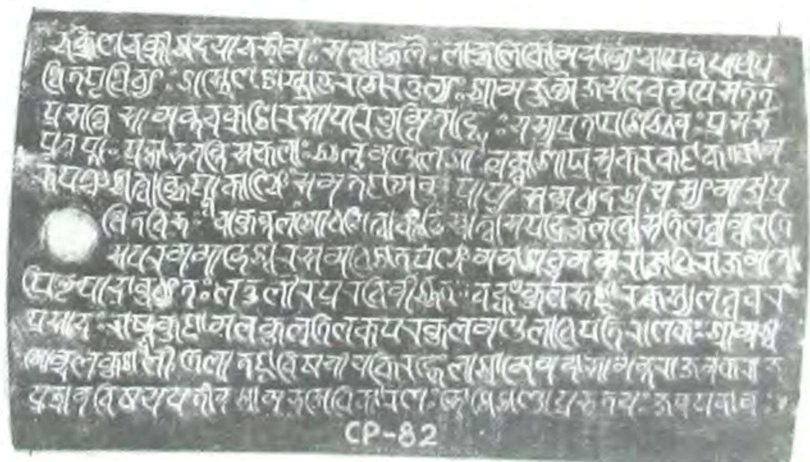


Fig. 21 Second Plate, first side, Degaon Copper Plates

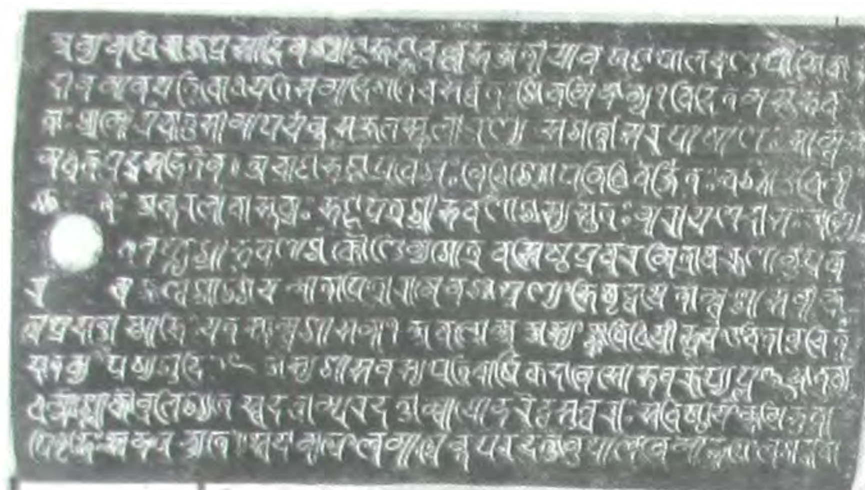


Fig. 22 Second Plate, second side, Degaon Copper Plates

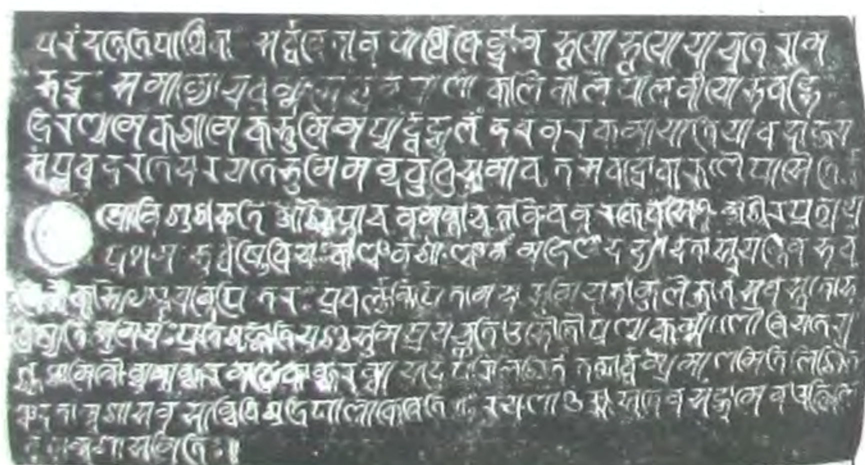


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